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PRESIDENT HARDING'S New York visit was an event to bring cheer even to an abandoned cemetery. He embarked upon a sea of words early in the morning, and by midnight had circumnavigated the dictionary and discovered countless hitherto uncharted islands in the ocean of rhetoric. The thought of war in connection with the soldier dead gave him the chance to thunder, amid touching tears, "It must not be again! It must not be again." We must have a nation "so powerful in righteousness [i.e., so armed to the teeth] that none will dare invoke her wrath." In Brooklyn he was inspired to think of the "sweet, rollicking, laughing, hopeful children of the republic," and at the Fox Hills Hospital he was able to shake hands with the soldier patients and ask: "How are you boys?" Somehow he failed to kiss a baby—but otherwise it was a perfect day. Full speed ahead!

IF a good time was had by all at the Pilgrims' dinner in London at which Col. George Harvey unveiled the astounding fact that the Harding Administration will never, never enter the League of Nations, it is certainly not the last occasion during the new Ambassador's stay in Great Britain in which he will furnish headlines and draw and deliver fire. The performance was eminently Harveysque as to manners and style; yet there was a surprise in it—the cool and deliberate way in which the Ambassador set forth his official view that

the United States did not enter the war "to save this kingdom [England] and France and Italy. This is not the fact. We sent them [our troops] solely to save the United States of America and most reluctantly and laggardly at that." Naturally, the Democrats have raged ever since. This calm overriding of all the delightful Wilsonian bunkum about our preserving humanity, making the world safe for democracy, and going to the rescue of small nations naturally causes to rage those who have held forth to us the vision of a United States going into the war a veritable Sir Galahad among nations. Well, gradually some of the old fictions which were so effective in bamboozling the public are being destroyed. Woodrow Wilson himself did yeoman's service in this respect by admitting that the war had its origins in economic rivalry—for saying which earlier Mr. Debs went to jail. Now Colonel Harvey, as spokesman for the great Republican Party, describes it as a purely selfish, nationalistic war, waged by us without thought of our beloved Allies, merely because of fear on our own part for ourselves and our property. What an interesting time the historian of the World War is going to have!

ALL thanks to Senator Borah, who by courageously sticking to his disarmament amendment to the naval appropriation bill, has gained the day. Senator Borah asked that the bill appropriating money for the navy carry with it an instruction to President Harding to initiate a conference of Japan, Great Britain, and the United States for the purpose of considering a lessening of armament. The proposal was opposed at first because it was understood that Mr. Harding thought it an invasion of the executive function of the government and likely to prove embarrassing. More recently the word was passed around in the Senate that the President had withdrawn his objections. The outcome is definitely a victory for public opinion of the best sort, which daily is growing more outspoken and insistent that the danger and burden of vast international equipments for murder and suicide must be ended.

SECRETARY HOOVER deserves hearty commendation for his designation of seven engineering experts to assist the Department of Commerce in the solution of the troublesome problem of housing which now confronts the country. To an engineer like Mr. Hoover it seems, he says, obvious that we should not suffer from unemployment at the moment when for lack of labor many persons are without houses, if the workless hands can possibly be put to work to house the roofless heads. His advisers will concern themselves with building codes, standards of materials, items of waste, and improvements in building practice. The United States, for all its great contrasts of empty regions and congested slums, has until the past four or five years never known how serious the housing shortage in a modern industrial nation can become. And though our own shortage is now acute, concerted action taken by some such central body as Mr. Hoover designates can go a long way, if so disposed, to unsnarl our tangles.

IT is of course obvious that the Holy See is and must be neutral in international affairs—its relationship is to people, and essentially to those of Catholic faith the world over, whatever their nationality. So that the position of the Pontiff in touching on Ireland, with the two involved groups unable to meet on common ground, is inevitably beset with difficulties. Yet while the Pope's sentiments about the need of cessation of warfare in Ireland are unimpeachable, the *Nation* feels that he is mistaken in his recommendation that "the question at issue be referred to some body of men selected by the whole Irish nation." For the whole Irish nation has already spoken unmistakably. It spoke in the elections of 1918, when four-fifths of its population voted for self-determination. Granting that the Irish question is not simple, as is so often asserted, the principle that the peoples of the earth shall have the right to govern themselves must today be regarded as fundamental. The way to achieve peace is to withdraw the troops and let the Irish people work out their own destiny.

MUCH has transpired since the days when Britain used to talk about shaking hands with murder and dispatched armies to annihilate the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks obstinately persisted in surviving, and Britain saw that prosperity lay along another way. So moralizing has been forgotten, and the Soviet Government is basking in the recognition of the strongest Power in Europe. The decision of the British Court of Appeals that property confiscated by the Russian Government and exported to England cannot be recovered by the original owner in the British courts has removed almost the last barrier to a complete resumption of trade. Will the United States follow after England? Or will the present Administration continue to display the dogmatic rigidity that made Mr. Wilson's behavior toward Russia a painful mixture of moralistic incompetence and callous indifference to suffering? Great Britain has cleared the way for a restoration of economic stability, and the United States should follow suit.

WE should be the last to discourage gifts for the relief of suffering in Europe, but there are efforts in that direction which seem inappropriate. For instance, the *Phoenix Republican* (Arizona) published on one page recently two ironically incongruous headlines. One of them read: "Greenlee Leads all Counties for European Relief." The other said: "Men Will Work Just for Board is Report." Greenlee County, it appears, was assigned a "quota" of \$1,500 for European relief, but owing either to generosity or duress of the kind we learned to apply during the war, the people went "over the top" with \$4,805.48. Meanwhile, labor conditions in the State are wretched, unemployment is widespread, and hunger is driving men into the situation revealed by the second headline quoted. Charity does not necessarily begin at home, and should not end there; but it is poor charity—and worse justice—which both begins and ends in a detached sentimentality.

IN Georgia, where folks are talking of impeaching the Governor because he gave the State a bad name by attacking the peonage system, a necktie salesman apprehends the former Governor of Florida, a fugitive from justice on charges of direct participation in the practice of peonage. Where but in the liberty-loving United States of America could it be said that two Governors stand in the shadow of the law's mighty power, one because he opposed human

slavery, the other because he gloried in it? And what would be more consistent with the past conduct of these sovereign commonwealths in matters of racial equality than that the Governor of Georgia should be incontinently thrust from office and that the former Governor of Florida should be triumphantly acquitted and ride a white horse in a parade of the organizations to whose bigotry and intolerance he owed his political success, the True Americans and the Guardians of Liberty?

THAT there are propagandists for foreign commercial interests at work in Washington—we call them lobbyists when they represent domestic groups—is undoubted. But all their combined efforts could do nothing as injurious to American commerce, or so effective in retarding our return to prosperity and "normalcy," as the fastening of a protective tariff on our nation by the Republicans. America's foreign trade is steadily waning. South America, whose commerce was presented to us during the war, is now reverting to its former associations. Our exports to Europe approach the vanishing point. The situation was clearly summed up at the recent meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers by Ambassador Jusserand when he said:

The big question is the tariff. America needs foreign markets and foreign markets need America. Can any reasonable person expect foreign markets to come to America when this country raises a wall to keep them out? France has little gold left and must pay for what she buys with goods. The rest of the world is in the same condition. Can America foster foreign markets when she erects a tariff wall to exclude their only way of buying?

By diminishing our foreign markets a protective tariff decreases our production and increases unemployment, which, in turn, means less purchasing at home. And ultimately the tariff benefits no one in this country except relatively small manufacturing groups.

SENATOR SPENCER of Missouri has made another—probably the last—contribution to the controversy that arose between him and Mr. Wilson during the Presidential campaign. Senator Spencer said that Mr. Wilson had told the Rumanian and Serbian delegates at the peace conference that "if any nation ever invaded their territory he would send the American army across the seas to defend their boundary lines." Thereupon a statement was issued from the White House that Senator Spencer's words were "absolutely and unqualifiedly false." Senator Spencer called for the official minutes, but Mr. Wilson replied on October 7, 1920, that he had no copy and so far as he knew there was none in the country. Later, however, he made public a letter from one of the official stenographers at Paris, Fred A. Carlson, in which the latter reproduced from his notes what Mr. Wilson had said. After the present Administration came in, Senator Spencer wrote to the Department of State, and received a copy of the official minutes of the peace conference, with a letter from Secretary Hughes saying that 500 copies had been received on July 9, 1919, and 300 more on February 20, 1920. The text corresponds with the Carlson version in quoting Mr. Wilson as saying:

And yet there underlies all of these transactions the expectation on the part, for example, of Rumania, and of Czechoslovakia, and of Serbia, that if any covenants of this settlement are not observed, the United States will send her armies and her navies to see that they are observed.

LET us not forget, in our excitement over having a President with a style, that we have a Vice-President with a style too. And he uses it. Not content with cracking the whip over the Senate, he extends his lash to the broad public which a great man addresses in a great magazine. Just now the magazine is the *Delineator*, for June, and the theme is the wicked "Reds" who are slinking into the girls' colleges and corrupting the virgin minds there assembled. Why, there is a thing called the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, he warns the world, which has chapters in the colleges and tells the girls about radical literature and bolshevism and Russia and such. Barnard is a hotbed, and so is Radcliffe; at Wellesley "the library has books for and against socialism which show considerable use"; Smith seems sane, for there discussions of radical matters are "under direction and supervision," and not many girls read the dangerous books in the library; Bryn Mawr has been kept safe for orthodoxy "by a rather complete representation of books in opposition to socialism, which have been much more read than like books in opposition in other colleges"; Mt. Holyoke is almost immaculate. Let us not be alarmed, he says, but merely armed against this stealthy propaganda. "Adherence to radical doctrines means the ultimate breaking down of the old sturdy virtues of manhood and womanhood, the insidious destruction of character, the weakening of the moral fiber of the individual, the destruction of the foundations of civilization." (Pull for the shore, sisters, pull for the shore! The Vice-President will help you.) Interestingly enough the President of the Senate does not mention the fact which practically all competent observers will agree upon—that the women's colleges, taken as a whole, are the most active centers of intelligence and free speculation in the United States.

THERE seems to be a growing belief that high railroad rates are at least as much to blame for poor railroad earnings as is industrial depression. Thus a committee appointed by the Governors of the New England States recommends against a further increase of rates, saying that a decrease is rather to be desired from the standpoint both of the railroads and of business revival. Senator Capper of Kansas has said in Congress:

To ship a bushel of wheat from Buenos Aires to New York costs twelve cents, while to ship a bushel from Minneapolis to New York costs thirty-eight cents. A bale of cotton can be shipped from Galveston to Germany for thirty-five cents a 100 pounds, while to ship the same cotton 300 miles by rail in this country means a freight charge of ninety-five cents a 100 pounds.

Not only high rates but heavy losses worry shippers. Small articles are now largely shipped by the far more expensive parcel-post and express services, because even though damages are paid for losses on the railways, trade is spoiled. According to the railways' own figures, robberies and losses due to defective equipment in 1920 cost no less than *one hundred and four millions of dollars*. Is it any wonder that the cost of living stays up?

THERE are three ways now in vogue of bringing about lower labor costs. One is the perilous way of the United States Steel Corporation and the Frick Coal and Coke Company, whose executives meet in private and come forth with a decree reducing wages 20 to 30 per cent, put into effect without any hearing of the attitude

of the workers, or any present resistance on their part, since they are unorganized. The second is the costly way now being employed by Admiral Benson and the American ship-owners, who refuse arbitration in order to enforce a cut of 15 per cent or more against the active resistance of unions. The third way has just been employed in the men's clothing industry in Chicago, Rochester, and Baltimore. Here both sides presented their arguments and evidence before the "impartial chairman," paid jointly by both, who has been adjusting disputes steadily for months and knows the needs of the industry. The result in this case has been a reduction of from 5 to 10 per cent in Chicago and Baltimore, and no reduction in Rochester, but a change in method of payment from "week work" to piece work. Valid objections can be urged even against the award in the clothing industry, but at least it involves far less danger to the employer, the worker, and the consumer than the other two cases. Its reductions are not utterly disproportionate to the fall in retail prices. It gives the manufacturer some relief during the period of depression. The workers accept it knowing that their case has been properly presented and heard. And everyone benefits by the steady continuance of production.

THIS reservation made, it is possible to criticize the clothing decisions more in detail. In this industry, as in many others, wages were never adjusted to the cost of living at its peak in June, 1920, and therefore a reduction of even 10 per cent may make it impossible for the workers to live as well as they did a year or more ago. In view of the fact that most wage-earners have never received enough to maintain a family according to decent standards, this is a serious matter. Furthermore, since neither the workers nor the public have access to the books of the employers, it is impossible to be sure that even higher wages than those now received might not be paid without unduly curtailing the earnings of the invested capital. The change to piece work in Rochester is a dangerous precedent and may, without careful supervision, lead to overspeeding. And how necessary are wage cuts, after all, in enabling employers to weather periods of depression? The employers have all the advantage of high profits in boom times, and should be called upon to meet deficiencies as far as possible from the reserves thus accumulated. It is necessary now to reduce prices, but if labor cost, as in the clothing industry, does not make up more than 40 per cent of the total cost of production, a wage cut of 10 per cent reduces the wholesale cost of clothing only 4 per cent.

THERE has been an alarming decrease of candidates for the Methodist pulpits as well as for the Episcopalian and other churches, so that a "life service commission" has been organized, with Bishop Henderson of Detroit at its head, to begin a "vigorous campaign" to supply Methodist needs. The Episcopalian theological schools have so fallen off in attendance as to have aroused the anxiety of those connected with them. Thus we have another interesting side-light upon that great spiritual revival which was scheduled by the war-makers to follow upon the holy business of wholesale slaughter on behalf of democracy and humanity. What kind of a recruiting campaign ought to be instituted? Should it be by scouting in the colleges, by large display advertising in the daily press, as one calls for purchasers of motor-cars and phonographs, or by much

stressing of the fact that ministers' salaries have gone up? To our mind men of consecration cannot be recruited unless outlived creeds and shibboleths are done away with, until the church of today is directly correlated with life and, above all, with the aspirations of the masses. Moreover, the "life service commission" ought to recognize clearly that its problem is chiefly to prove if it can that the Methodist Church is one in which brave spirits are soaring unfettered, free to range where they will and say only what conscience dictates.

THE centenary of the birth of Charles Baudelaire should be celebrated not only in France but by lovers of poetry everywhere. Merely as a maker of music he stands high. Assuredly the French language has never known more enchanting rhythms than those of "Le Balcon" or "Harmonie du Soir" or "Hymne." This quality of the author of "Les Fleurs du Mal" has often been neglected in favor of his originality of subject matter. He was, as his "Journaux Intimes" show, a terribly sincere and terribly frank writer. And as he had all the maladies of the soul of his day and extraordinarily acute senses, he said what many felt and few dared utter, and thus exerted a profound influence on the poets of his own and the succeeding generation. Today his boldness no longer seems quite so bold, his frankness no longer quite so revolutionary. The aching sense of the sinfulness of his desires to which his rigid dualism condemned him no longer stirs a more rational and a more pagan world. The verses remain, and not only remain but keep their strange thrill and somber loveliness, their gigantic images, their psychological accuracy, their penetrating fragrance, and their rich perfection of form.

Recognize Obregon!

WILL the Mexican policy of the Harding Administration be controlled by the demands of a handful of oil men and the banking interests that back them? Or will it be controlled by the will of the vast majority of the American people—business men included? On the answer to this question depends the fate of Mexico—and the chance of peace. No one wants war with Mexico—a new war with new taxes, new drives, new oppression, new propaganda. No one wants a revolution in Mexico, where for the first time in many years banditry is out of style and contentment and growing prosperity are everywhere felt. No one wants the United States to dominate a "Mexico consortium," which shall prevent Mexico from raising independently a cent of money abroad or establishing credits without the consent of the United States. No one wants the United States to withhold recognition from the Mexican Government—a government constitutionally and peacefully established, financially sound, democratically organized. No one wants any of these things for Mexico—war, revolution, a financial protectorate, international outlawry—except a handful of American gentlemen who claim title to vast millions of acres of Mexican land and the oil that is under the land, and a handful of gentlemen who provide the money to make this land exude its oil and to spread it over the face of the earth.

The men who have forced the Government to withhold recognition from Mexico and who will try to force the Government to withhold recognition until Mexico is in a state of bankruptcy or revolution and war is inevitable—these

men could be mentioned by name in two minutes. They are so few, compared with the rest of us, that it seems strange that they should be able to force the Government to do just what the rest of us want it not to do. We are almost driven to the conclusion—which to us unsophisticated Americans is a painful one—that the Government listens more attentively to the voice of business than it does to the voice of the people; or perhaps the voice of business is louder.

Mexico by its own efforts has largely achieved peace, order, financial stability. It desperately needs recognition; it wants to be received into the society of nations. It does not either need or want intervention, or financial help in the form of loans for which its customs revenues shall be held as security and administered by the United States. It wants only a chance to borrow abroad, if necessary, as other countries borrow (as Poland, for instance, can borrow!) without forfeiting its right to independence. It wants a chance to establish credits, since credits are essential to international trade. It sees no reason why it should not tax Americans as it taxes Mexicans.

It is easy to see why the oil men who are thus being taxed and the bankers who want an opportunity to lend on their own terms disapprove of Mexico's desires. Their power and their purposes are convincingly set forth by John Kenneth Turner in this issue of *The Nation*. But the rest of the people naturally approve of Mexico's desires for independence and peace, and it is the task of the majority to make its approval felt. Professor Chamberlain stated the position of all disinterested Americans when he said at the recent Congress on Reduction of Armaments:

Our southern neighbor is no longer a country of great ranches and primitive industrial and mining development. It is a modern state in process of formation, provided with means of rapid transit, which make it a part of the commercial world. Our interests point to a closer friendship with Mexico, especially now, when our manufacturers and merchants need the Mexican markets.

Beyond Mexico lies South America, always fearful of the shadow of the northern Colossus. A wrong step in Mexico would have instant effect sympathetically throughout Spanish America, an effect which European competitors would see was not smoothed out.

Let every business man in America and every peace-loving American of any profession say with a voice louder than the voice of oil: "Recognize the Mexican Government. That is the only Mexican policy the United States needs." Already, it is encouraging to note, the legislatures of Arizona, California, and Oklahoma have adopted resolutions urging early recognition; and Senator Ashurst of Arizona, in a recent speech, stated his belief that a continued delay by the State Department in recognizing the Mexican Government would result in disaster for Mexico. So far, however, the behavior of the State Department gives us little reason to count on a new policy. Secretary Hughes's note to the Governor of San Luis Potosi, protesting "in the name of interested Americans" against the enactment of a law dividing landed estates among the peasants, displayed an arbitrary tone and a strange disregard for the ordinary methods of international intercourse. On the other hand, the Government is apparently feeling the pressure of those groups of business men and exporters who want to take advantage of the present tranquillity and solvency of Mexico. This fact offers some reason to hope that the Government will recognize Mexico without demanding from her a formal treaty giving up her sovereign rights.

Chief Justice White

THE death of Chief Justice White removes one of the stalwart figures of American public life. Confederate soldier, wealthy planter, successful lawyer, Louisiana politician, United States Senator, a member of the United States Supreme Court for twenty-seven years and for eleven years Chief Justice, untiring worker, modest, genial, fun-loving, Mr. White impressed all who knew him with his lovable human qualities and his steadfast devotion to public service. His efforts to expedite business had met with notable success in spite of the facts that much more work is forced upon our high tribunal than it can possibly do promptly and well and that the issues brought before it often raise sharp differences of opinion that tend to set the judges on edge and to provoke acrimonious and prolonged debate. The published opinions of recent years testify to antagonisms that under a Chief of less character and less human leadership might have blazed forth into more open hostility. Although Chief Justice White enjoyed no such intellectual supremacy or personal domination over his colleagues as did Chief Justice Marshall, and although he frequently found himself in the minority, he nevertheless won distinction as an able presiding officer and a firm upholder of the traditional dignity of what remains the most powerful tribunal in the world.

By reason of his striking personality and his lovable human traits, the late Chief Justice will for a while receive higher tributes to his judicial services than time is apt to confirm. He will rank higher as Chief than as a member of the court. Several of his colleagues were wiser in judgment, abler in reasoning, and more effective in expression. Whether from native bent or from training or from both combined, he indulged in intellectual processes that are baffling and irritating. His propensity for unwarranted antitheses and for artificial verbal logic make many of his opinions models of what judicial opinions ought not to be. His famous "rule of reason," which has received such acclaim from those who have not carefully analyzed it, was but an involved piece of casuistry built on a submerged pun. By using "reasonable" now in the sense of moderate or limited and now in the sense of something reached through the exercise of the reasoning powers, he sought to make out that the court was not overruling itself in its interpretation of the Sherman Act when the contrary was perfectly plain.

In his judgments the Chief Justice belonged with those who hold that the doctrines of individualism and of *laissez-faire* are firmly imbedded in the due-process clauses of the Constitution. With Justices Van Devanter and McReynolds he frequently objected to police measures that all the rest of the court found free from constitutional fault. These three, like Justices Brewer and Peckham of the preceding judicial generation, could be most confidently relied on to oppose legislation of a collectivistic character. The Chief Justice voted against the Washington and the Arizona workmen's compensation laws, the Oregon ten-hour law, and against both State and Congressional legislation designed to enable employees to make wage contracts by collective bargaining. In the divisions of opinion on the application of the Sherman Law he was usually in favor of giving a clean bill of health to the important defendants before the court. For the most part he continued to be dominated by the beliefs of an earlier generation. When he surprises us by joining

with his more enlightened colleagues in sustaining such legislation as the Adamson Law, the explanation is usually to be found in some widespread public interest in the issue. The Chief Justice had a keen sense of the possibly precarious political position of the court, and he was solicitous to avoid the popular criticism that might start an agitation to deprive it of the control over legislation which it has so long exercised. Contrary to natural inferences, this Confederate soldier was more of a nationalist than a States' rights man. Old ways of feeling found expression in his vote against the Federal Child Labor Law and against the effort of Congress to apply State workmen's compensation laws to injuries within the admiralty jurisdiction of the Federal courts, but these were exceptions to his general attitude in favor of a broad interpretation of national power. As a rule he allowed wide scope to the taxing powers of the nation as well as to those of the States. His outworn views on social and economic questions were frequently curbed by a political instinct and a sense of practical necessity that saved him from being the obstructionist that he might otherwise have been. Notwithstanding his strength of character, he was not rigidly stubborn. His personal qualities largely compensated for his lack of the highest vision and of a sure intellectual technique.

The tremendous political power wielded by the Supreme Court makes it of prime importance that those who compose it be chosen with conscious reference to their capacity to act as governors in a democracy. Under constitutional clauses couched in such general language that they afford little or no guide to their application, the Supreme Court enjoys a veto power more untrammelled than that of the President. Had Chief Justice White been of different mind, Congress would not have been thwarted in its efforts to tax stock dividends as income and to close the channels of interstate commerce to goods made by child labor. All too frequently important acts of Congress and of State legislatures are set aside by a Supreme Court divided five to four. The division of opinion is seldom due to disagreements as to the meaning of language or as to any other matters on which lawyers may be deemed to be expert. It is usually due to a difference of social outlook. How much the social outlook of our judges is left to chance is evident from the fact that the same President could appoint two justices of such diverse propensities as Mr. Justice McReynolds and Mr. Justice Brandeis. Unfortunately, too, it is only occasionally that the practicing lawyer with the requisite technical skill and learning for high judicial office has at the same time the breadth or depth of social vision that is needed for a wise judicial governor. Nor is it common that Presidents and Attorneys General understand sufficiently the qualities demanded for a justice of the Supreme Court to be able to make even approximately the best appointments to that body. Chief Justice White's successor should be a man picked not for his genial personality or for his party services, but for his capacity to engage in unrelenting intellectual toil of the highest order, to understand the complicated relationships of an industrial nation of the twentieth century, to have a vision of the future as well as a knowledge of the past, and to do for his generation a work of the same constructive statesmanship that Chief Justice Marshall did for his.

No War With England

VII. Cables and Canals

IF Americans still possess their traditional sense of humor, they must be hugely intrigued to find that one of the chief spoils of war turns out to be a tiny island in the South Pacific by the name of Yap, that our Government has for many months been exchanging weighty diplomatic notes about Yap with the Imperial Government of Japan, and that all the great Powers of the world are in some measure involved in the controversy. Whoever heard of Yap before? Can obscure trifles like this, lying in the files of foreign offices, suddenly emerge to confound us with international friction?

The sole reason for this impressive debate is that Yap is the meeting-point of four submarine telegraph cables. One comes from Guam, which we seized in the Spanish War. It is in turn connected with San Francisco, Tokio, and Manila. Another comes from Shanghai. Another goes to Borneo and another to New Guinea. Our Government's fear is, crudely stated, that any nation which controls the cable station at Yap might interrupt, censor, or read the contents of messages passing between San Francisco on one side of the Pacific, and Shanghai, Borneo, and New Guinea on the other. Of course no nation could do so publicly without compromising its honor. But apparently we have reason to believe that nations are in the habit of doing so privately. If they do, they steal an unfair advantage not only in secret diplomacy, which of course still exists, but also in trade and business. That is the whole story.

There are other cables which have been in controversy. Before the war there were two cables connecting New York with Germany. In 1914 Great Britain and France interrupted our communication with Germany by cutting both these cables, and towing the eastern ends respectively to Penzance, England, and Brest, France. Two years later Britain cut the western end of the Penzance cable outside of New York and connected it with Halifax. What was a cable between the United States and Germany has now become, therefore, a cable between Canada and England. We cannot communicate with the European continent without having our messages pass through French or British hands. We cannot communicate directly with the continent of Asia without having our messages pass through Japanese hands. The Allies have seized all the German cables and claim them as the spoils of war. Great Britain owns most of the other important ocean cables, having laid them as a result of her commercial enterprise and her virtual monopoly of gutta-percha. But the matter has not stopped here. Many of us are puzzled to read in the newspapers about what seems to be a private war between the United States Government and the Western Union Telegraph Company. The company is trying to land a cable at Miami, Florida, and the Government has prevented it from doing so by the power of the navy. The cable in question is British owned; it comes from Barbados, which in turn is connected with Brazil, and it would, if completed, give British interests control of the most important line between the United States and western South America. The Department of State was so eager to prevent this result that it actually employed arms against a domestic commercial concern.

An International Communications Conference was held in December to adjust the question of the former German cables. The American delegates urged a compromise and gained the support of the Italians for it, but the British and French delegates would not agree. Presently the latter requested that the conference be adjourned, since they wanted to be at home for Christmas. The American delegates reluctantly let them go. The conferees were to meet again on March 15 of this year. They did so, almost in secrecy. You may search the newspapers in vain for the story until March 19, when an inner page of the *New York Times* carried a circumstantial account of what had happened. Nothing could be announced officially, said the article, for "technical" reasons. Yet it was understood that a tentative arrangement had been arrived at by which the United States was to receive full ownership of the New York-Brest cable and of the Guam-Yap line, while Japan was to hold the Yap-Shanghai and the Yap-East Indies wires. The question of the control of Yap itself was differentiated from the ownership of the cables, and until the mandate issue was settled, Japan insisted on operating the Yap end of the Guam-Yap cable. Official approval of the French Government had to be obtained before any final announcement could be made. Since March 19 there has been a silence about cables.

Wireless is, in one sense, a substitute for the cable, but it will be a long time before wireless facilities are as well distributed or as dependable as the submarine telegraph. Besides, since secrecy is the chief desideratum, wireless is really no substitute, because there is little hope of concealing the contents of a wireless message from anyone who is willing to take a little trouble to decipher it.

While we are thus in effect questioning the good faith of other governments in the matter of cables, we are preparing to exercise bad faith ourselves in the matter of canals. The Suez Canal, owned by Great Britain, is open to the ships of all nations on equal terms. The Panama Canal, owned by the United States, is also, in consequence of an explicit clause in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, open to all ships without discrimination. But the United States shipping interests are trying to get lower tolls for our vessels, backed, apparently, by Congress and the Administration.

These two controversies have much to teach us about international relations. They prove again, to anyone who still doubts it, that most of the quarrels between nations are concerned not with high and pure ideals like democracy and honor, but with material interests like trade and profits. They show that the Allied and Associated Governments, which only yesterday proclaimed to the world that they were engaged in a mighty crusade to crush selfish imperialism, to banish war forever, and to establish the sanctity of treaties, cannot even trust each other not to snoop or not to violate solemn agreements when there is a little money to be made by it. These difficulties are too insignificant, taken by themselves, to lead to open hostilities, but they indicate how alert peace-loving peoples must be if they are to prevent rulers who place business above humanity from leading them into a situation where wholesale slaughter becomes "inevitable."

The next article in this series will deal with Ireland and British imperial policy.

Why the Obregon Government Has Not Been Recognized

By JOHN KENNETH TURNER

ALVARO OBREGON has been President of Mexico now for six months. No question has been raised as to the validity of his election. Refusal of one government to have dealings with another is an affront which requires the most cogent reasons to justify it. Why did the Wilson Administration, and later the Harding Administration, omit to send an ambassador to the capital of Obregon, and to receive an ambassador of Obregon at Washington? This is a question that is emphatically the public's business, especially since danger of war lurks more threateningly in our relations with Mexico than in those with any other country.

Within her own borders Mexico is more nearly at peace than she has been for ten years. Not a single Zapatista remains in arms. "Pancho" Villa has turned to the arts of agriculture. The followers of Pelaez have become a part of the government forces. The Yaqui Indians have forsaken the war-path. Banditry has all but disappeared. Although it is not usually considered that the form of a government, or its internal policies, may properly determine the question of recognition, it happens that the conditions which our political leaders—whether Democratic or Republican—have claimed to desire in Mexico are more nearly met than in any previous period in the past decade.

The Obregon Government is not so radical that there need be any fear of its leading the country into bolshevism; nor is it so reactionary as to be likely to provoke another popular revolution. Its chief energies are being directed, on the one hand, toward removing the causes of past disorder at home, and, on the other, toward demonstrating a desire for American friendship, a wish to meet "legitimate" demands of business, a determination to fulfil "international obligations." In a word, it has met the ordinary conditions for recognition and a great deal more. It is probably the best Mexican government that could be found for the present time and circumstances. Any change would almost surely be for the worse, and no immediate change is possible without another period of war.

It may be, however, that these kind things cannot be said of the Government of Obregon six months or a year from now, and should that be so it will be due to circumstances for which we are directly responsible. So long as the Mexican Government is not recognized it not only cannot borrow a dollar abroad, but it is precluded from obtaining ordinary business credit. The stability of any government depends largely upon its ability to maintain transportation, so that the people can buy, sell, and be fed. We have complained of the condition of the railroads, holding that as a point against the capacity of Mexicans to solve "the Mexican problem." Under the circumstances, it is a tribute to Mexican efficiency that the railroads can be operated at all. Mexico has been prevented from getting railroad material on credit, prevented from borrowing the cash, prevented even from taxing the necessary cash out of the nation's industries. Due to the railroad situation, the cost of living in the centers of population at the present moment is an inevitable source of discontent. At the same time the mer-

chants are complaining of losses arising from non-delivery of goods. The Department of Agriculture can proceed with its program of land partition, and even distribute plows among needy agriculturists, but it cannot furnish the animals and the seed which in some cases must be provided if the land is to be worked this year. For lack of cash a hundred admirable and necessary projects, looking toward the reconstruction of the country, are held up. Promises must be carried out or the Government will experience a loss of popularity. Obregon may survive without recognition, solve the country's immediate problems, keep the peace, and stave off intervention, but the chances are against it. Would we really like to see a stable regime beyond the Rio Grande? Again, why have we withheld recognition from the present Mexican Government, while according it to other governments that were newer, less "stable," less democratic, and whose rise to power was by more questionable means?

The answer is that we have demanded a price for our recognition; we have laid down conditions which no government should ask of any other government, and to which no independent government could agree. We are willing to take advantage of the difficulties of a neighbor in order to force upon her illegal and slavish terms. Rather than abate our demands we are willing to wreck a government that has begun its work in the best of faith, to encourage rebellion against it, even to make war upon it ourselves.

Evidence of a conspiracy to this end has come out bit by bit until the case is now fairly complete. It is well known that the hearings upon Mexican affairs conducted by a Foreign Relations Sub-Committee of which Albert B. Fall was chairman were directed toward manufacturing sentiment for intervention against Carranza. At the height of these hearings the Obregon revolution occurred. The Fall Committee immediately prepared a report, recommending that the Government of the United States refuse to recognize the new Mexican Government except under certain conditions. The specified conditions were so cunningly framed as practically to give our neighbors the choice between American overlordship and war. The crux of the Fall recommendations was that the Mexican Executive should be required to *agree in writing* to various things; among others, to suspend the application to American citizens of Article 27 of the new Constitution—a step which, of course, the Mexican Executive is constitutionally precluded from taking.

But Fall was a notorious interventionist, a Republican, and a critic of President Wilson. Wilson had nine months in which to recognize the successor of Carranza, De la Huerta, or De la Huerta's successor, Obregon. Although a large portion of the public had been led to believe that Wilson was not in accord with Fall, when the Mexican representative sought recognition Secretary Colby laid down the condition that the Mexican Government should *agree in writing* as to the consideration to be accorded American business men, not forgetting the application of Article 27 of the Constitution. It was the refusal of Obregon to enter

into a treaty along the Fall lines that caused the breaking off of negotiations. Had President Wilson not approved of the Fall scheme he could have checkmated it by recognizing Obregon. In the end the Mexican policy of "non-interventionist" Wilson and of interventionist Fall were revealed as one and the same.

And Harding? Speculation as to what will be the Harding policy is superfluous. So long as Harding postpones recognition he is *carrying out* the Fall policy. What other motive can there be for withholding recognition except to compel acceptance of the Fall terms? Harding was a member of the Senate Committee that approved of the Fall report. After his appointment to the Harding Cabinet, and only two days before taking his seat, Fall reaffirmed his inflexible adherence to the Fall policy through the press (letter to the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico); declared that "no government in Mexico will be recognized, with my consent, which government does not first enter into a written agreement practically along the lines suggested"; held up the two alternative courses open to our Government should Mexico refuse to sign, the first, "inaction," the second, "other action." This pronunciamiento did not cause Harding to change his mind as to the eligibility of Fall to a position in his Cabinet. Indeed, is it likely that Fall would have accepted a cabinet post without assuring himself that there was no intention to subject him to humiliation? Considerations yet to arise may cause President Harding in the end to recognize Obregon on a basis short of the Fall terms, but up to the time of writing the Harding policy is the policy of Fall.

Fall-Wilson-Harding—the Republican Party—the Democratic Party; where is the source of such sweet harmony? Secretary Fall has been represented as standing almost alone, but a little investigation reveals him as the spokesman for a most respectable and powerful company. In a written statement published widely in the press March 3, the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico pointed out that "the Sub-Committee of which Senator Fall was chairman, a representative of one of the groups of members of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, and the State Department at Washington have arrived at substantially the same conclusion, that any settlement of the Mexican problem must be a comprehensive one embracing all questions in which American citizens are interested, and that it should be in the form of a formal treaty between the two governments." One day previously the National Association itself had indorsed "unqualifiedly the views expressed and the policies outlined by Senator Fall"; and during the same week the American Association of Mexico published its program, which is nothing more nor less than a restatement of the Fall "five points." Active spirits of these three organizations had promoted the Fall hearings and the Sub-Committee was fully informed as to their views before writing its report. Upon the executive board of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico are represented America's richest banks, railroads, oil and mining corporations. They dominate the policy of the Association. The Fall-Wilson-Harding policy is the policy of Wall Street.

Now what is the full program of this financial and political alliance, and what means are being taken to realize it? There is evidence that it goes even beyond the specifications already acknowledged. The American Association,

paraphrasing the words of the Petroleum Producers, makes the sweeping demand for the removal of "all governmental restrictions upon American enterprise." Make no mistake, this is not merely a question of oil. The National Association echoes that it is "opposed to any partial settlement of the problem that does not comprehend protection to all American citizens and respect for all property rights." This is a large order which could hardly be filled by any means short of a general and protracted supervision of Mexican affairs. For the most authoritative hint as to the physical form such supervision would take we have to go to a fourth organization, that of the international bankers.

The formation of the international committee of twenty bankers on Mexico—ten Americans, five from France, and five from Great Britain—was announced simultaneously in New York, Paris, and London, on February 23, 1919. It is significant that during the secret conferences previous to the announcement of this body the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico was launched, with representatives of the same great American banks on its executive committee. In New York the news of the formation of the International Committee of Bankers was given out in the library of J. P. Morgan, personally by Thomas Cochran, a member of the Morgan firm. Mr. Cochran's outline of the purposes of the organization suggests the question whether Albert B. Fall is the real author of what is known as the Fall Mexican policy, or whether the author is the International Committee of Bankers.

We find that the committee assumes to act for all "investors who hold interests in Mexico" and that its plans require that "the status of foreign investors" shall be "made the subject of a clear and precise pronouncement" by the Mexican Government. The bankers are not indisposed to undertake "the rehabilitation" of Mexico, but there must be a "guaranty" as to how the public moneys are to be spent. In the conferences leading up to the formation of the committee "representatives of the American, French, and British governments" took part. Remember that this was in the midst of the peace conference; heads of governments and of great banking houses, including President Wilson and Thomas W. Lamont, who became the active chief of the committee, were together in Paris. Finally, the scheme is disclosed cautiously in the following words:

A plan for refunding Mexico's debt and for supplying capital for new developments has been tentatively prepared . . . this plan calls for the refunding of the Mexican debt into a comprehensive issue of bonds of one description, the issuance of new bonds for capital with which to develop the natural resources of Mexico, the pledging of the national customs revenue as security for the whole debt, and the administration of the customs revenue by a joint commission or international board of representatives of the United States and Mexico.

In plain language, a financial and political protectorate, where the bankers hold the natural resources and the railroads, expending their "loans" to promote their own enterprises, where the bankers collect the revenues, the bankers supervise the disbursements, the bankers dictate the policies of a puppet government—their rule made good by the armed might of the American people. It is useless to pretend that we are too moral to stand for such an arrangement. We have it precisely in Nicaragua and Honduras, and with possibly slight variations in Santo Domingo and Haiti.

In these four little countries we made war to impose the

scheme. A war with Mexico would cost a great deal of money and men, and it would require psychological preparation. So, while the psychological preparation goes on we try other measures, among them non-recognition and the financial boycott. If Obregon will sign, everything will be delivered to him that can be delivered by America; if Obregon will not sign—then see what happens to Obregon! "It was indicated that nowhere outside of the United States, Great Britain, and France is there sufficient surplus capital to enable the Mexican Government to borrow in quantities sufficient for its needs," is one of the points given to the newspapermen by Mr. Cochran. "It is a fortunate circumstance for the United States," remarked James Speyer (*New York American*, January 8, 1921) "that ours is probably the only country where new money could now be obtained, and this should facilitate matters." March 17, a report was spread abroad that the French Government had recognized Obregon. The next day, after inquiry at the State Department, the Associated Press sent out the following dispatch:

The recognition of Mexico by France would be the occasion of some surprise in the State Department, because according to information there has been an understanding existing for several years between the principal European Powers and the United States that the relations of those governments with Mexico would be predicated largely upon the attitude assumed by the United States. One of the immediate effects of the recognition might be, it was explained, a serious disturbance of the agreement between the chief banking houses of the world not to

lend money to Mexico unless action was concurred in by all the banks who are a party to the agreement.

Which means that we have made the Fall policy the policy of France and England.

Although Obregon has made repeated overtures looking toward a reasonable business arrangement with business men and business governments, Wall Street and Washington stand pat, and they are seeing to it that France and England stand pat. The policy of "inaction" that we are for the moment pursuing is in effect a policy of action; for "other action" is almost certain to follow as a direct result of it. The oil companies are making sure of that; they are refusing to comply with Mexican laws, boring wells in defiance of regulations, forcing the Mexican Government into a position where it will either have to back down or assert its authority—and bring on a crisis with the United States.

The bankers are confident that Obregon cannot last in the face of their hostility, active or passive; his difficulties will be too great and new disorders will arise. Should Obregon surrender that, also, would provoke disorders. No policy is better calculated to insure a renewal of Mexican "turmoil" and prepare an excuse for armed intervention than the one we have chosen. Never have we had a more favorable opportunity decently and honorably to stabilize a worthy Mexican government, and so help solve "the Mexican problem." The first step is immediate and unconditional recognition of the existing regime.

Enter the Labor Press

By ARTHUR WARNER

OF course we have long had labor papers. For the most part, however, they have been published by labor organizations primarily for the benefit of their members; they have been devoted to narrow propaganda and to news of limited interest. In addition, we have had publications by political organizations friendly to labor, such as the Socialists, but these publications have suffered from the same shortcomings. Among all these journals only a handful have been dailies. There has been no cooperation and hardly any community of interest; no effort to reach the public as a whole or even to build a common constituency. In other words, we have had many labor papers, scattered and of limited appeal, but only since the armistice of 1918, and largely within the past year, have we evolved in the United States a journalism entitled to be called a labor press.

Within the period of a year, a considerable number of new dailies have been started, including the *Minnesota Daily Star* and the *Oklahoma Leader*, both launched last summer, two of the best publications of their kind in the country. In western Pennsylvania miners who were dissatisfied with their treatment by the press during the coal strike bought one of the newspaper plants of their locality, installed their own editors, and became responsible for the daily *Panther Creek News*. Within the last few months the *Sheboygan Telegram*, also a daily, has been taken over by a company of Wisconsin workingmen, chiefly Socialists. On the Pacific Coast a movement has been started to convert the *World*, the organ of the Socialist Party of California, from a weekly into a daily, while in Chicago

Socialists are raising funds to establish their own daily.

These newer ventures give the workers control of a daily in almost every section of the country when taken together with longer-established publications like the *Union Record*, supported by the trade unions of Seattle; the *Butte Daily Bulletin*, published by miners and other labor organizations of Montana; the *Daily Eclipse* and the *Courier-News*, issued, respectively, in Parsons, Kansas, and Fargo, North Dakota, primarily in the interest of farmers; and the *New York Call* and the *Milwaukee Leader*, established by Socialists. This is to mention only newspapers published in English, but to grasp the development of labor dailies, as a whole, one must remember the foreign-language publications, which are as many again as the list just enumerated.

More important, even, than the establishment of new daily newspapers is a change in the character of such publications, old or new, that is giving them greater power and appeal. They are becoming newspapers in the true sense of the word. The standing trouble with labor publications in the past is that they have had no adequate news service. There is probably a clientele in all of our larger cities for one working-class daily, but it must be sufficiently strong in news and general features so that it can be read as a substitute for, not in addition to, the other newspapers. It must satisfy the man and woman who read only one paper a day. There are probably half a dozen labor dailies in this country today that meet such tests—that are at least as good from the standpoint of the general reader as any other newspapers in their cities.

A change in the tone of the propaganda is equally ap-

parent. The old shouting and ranting and calling of names still persists in too great a degree, but it is more and more displaced by a sober and intelligent effort to interpret current history and explain in simple terms fundamental economic and political truths. The narrow appeal to organization or party is giving way before the need of developing a broad proletarian movement. To this the Socialist Party is showing itself commendably sensitive. The *New York Call* is now less a party and more a workers' newspaper than once. The editor of the *Sheboygan Telegram* writes that although the Socialist branch of that city was primarily responsible for the organization of the company that made the purchase, the journal aims to be "the recognized organ of the workingman, and not essentially a Socialist newspaper." It is "independent in politics, free to defend or criticize any party or individuals." The business manager of the *Oklahoma Leader* writes that there has been criticism because that publication has not been "purely Socialist." "We are trying to publish," he says in explanation, "a real labor newspaper." Likewise with the *Minnesota Daily Star*. It is commonly spoken of as a newspaper of the National Nonpartisan League, because League members, assisted by organized labor in Minneapolis and St. Paul, raised the money to establish it, but above its editorial columns is this declaration:

Owned and controlled by twenty thousand stockholders. Established and maintained to defend and cherish the freedom of the press and liberty of public opinion. . . . The opinions expressed in the editorial columns of the *Daily Star* are those of its editors. . . . It aims to give all sides to important public questions a fair hearing.

Both the *Oklahoma Leader* and the *Minnesota Daily Star* instance the way in which farmers and city workers are getting together on a common basis as producers and consumers, to the surprise and consternation of privileged interests that have hoped to play off one against the other. The farmer element behind both of these publications consists mostly of members of the National Nonpartisan League, and any treatment of the labor press would be incomplete without mention of the admirable insistence that the League has placed on its official and unofficial journals. The League publishes a semi-monthly national organ, the *Nonpartisan Leader*, in Minneapolis, and a semi-monthly newspaper in each of the half a dozen States in which its strength principally lies. The dues which members of the League pay include a subscription to the national magazine and to the newspaper of the State in which the person in question lives. There is also the daily *Courier-News*, in Fargo, North Dakota, and a considerable number of unofficial journals. While League publications are primarily for farmers, they defend the cause of the wage worker, and wherever they are in territory that includes any number of the latter, a definite attempt is made to obtain their support and cooperation. This new solidarity between city and farm worker is one of the powerful influences in the creation of a true labor press.

The same tendency away from sectarian appeal and toward broad labor interests that one notices in the dailies is apparent also among weeklies and monthlies. The Labor Publication Society has just been incorporated to take over the *Socialist Review*, started a year and a half ago by the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and to issue it monthly as the *Labor Age* along the wider lines, and with the wider support, that such a name suggests. So too *Labor*, which

was begun by the railway brotherhoods specifically to advocate the Plumb plan, has grown into one of the most influential and broad-visioned weeklies devoted to the workers' interests.

Most important of all the forces at work during the past year in welding the detached and inadequate labor papers of the country into a common structure, and in creating a public to support it, is the Federated Press. This is a cooperative news service designed to supply the factual content that labor papers have so long needed and to tell workers the truth about events and movements that most concern them. Inaugurated on January 2, 1920, with only eight assessment-paying members, the Federated Press had grown to 110 such members when the first annual report was made by the executive secretary on January 15 last. This number included twenty-two dailies, with a combined circulation of 339,980; seventy-three weeklies, with a combined circulation of 354,196; fifteen semi-monthlies or monthlies, with a combined circulation of 41,550; a total circulation of 735,726, or allowing an average of three readers to each publication, an audience of more than 2,000,000. Of the 110 members at the time of the first annual report ninety-six were English-language publications, the character of the subscribers to the service ranging from the *New Majority*, national organ of the Farmer-Labor Party, to *Solidarity*, official journal of the Industrial Workers of the World; from the *Butte Daily Bulletin* of the Montana mining fields to *Chanticleer*, a fortnightly issued by students of the University of Chicago.

In the course of the first year of its existence the Federated Press increased its service from 10,000 words a week to more than 50,000, and is supplying special articles, features, and cartoons in addition to current news. It has correspondents abroad as well as in this country, and its membership has been extended to Europe, where an organizer is now stationed. In respect to its membership, the Federated Press is, in fact, the first international news service to come into existence, and has issued a call for an international convention in Amsterdam this summer.

Owing to its slender financial resources, the service of the Federated Press has been limited so far to news of special concern to labor, but as soon as it can obtain the means, its scope will be widened. One plan afoot for increasing its income is the publication in Chicago of country weeklies, the Federated Press supplying the bulk of the material, uniform in character, and the local editor sending in a page of his own. Meanwhile, the Federated Press League has been organized, with dues of \$5 a year, to obtain individual interest in and support for a free labor press and a news service to sustain it.

The Federated Press is by all odds the most hopeful—and the most worthy of support—of any development in American journalism within a generation, although candor compels one to say that it is not yet the unbiased and dependable news service that it should be. It is no less partisan (from its own standpoint, that is) and rather less accurate than the Associated Press, the inadequacy of which in regard to labor news was chiefly responsible for the organization of the Federated service. It is not yet a substitute for, but only a corrective of, the Associated Press. Even so, it is supremely useful, and with greater experience (and the clearer vision resulting therefrom) and larger resources, it ought to become the fairest and best gatherer of news in existence.

In conjunction with direct forces working for the development of a labor press in America, there has been a reflex movement making way for it—a growing distrust of and resentment toward the other newspapers. The war and its aftermath has been the great cause of this. For a long time labor has been accustomed to see its specific interests ignored or misrepresented in the ordinary business-controlled press, but in the last few years it has seen almost every other issue vital to working men and women manhandled on the news pages and misinterpreted in the editorial columns; it has seen a shameless abandonment of the news-gathering and disseminating functions in favor of disingenuous and dangerous propaganda. An appreciation of this condition has come not merely to labor in the narrow sense in which that word is commonly used, but to a large body in the general community, so that there is a new and eager public ready for a new journalism as fast as the labor press can equal in general contents the business-controlled newspapers, and provided it can show itself free from the same kind of partisanship and deception in respect to its own interests that is the source of complaint against its rivals. The issue is fairly joined now between the labor press and the business-controlled journals; it will grow more acute. Indeed a counter offensive has already been started from the other trenches, news coming from Detroit recently that the local dailies had refused the use of their advertising columns to union cigarmakers desiring to make an appeal to the public against a reduction of wages and the “open shop.”

The labor press has made no attempt to reform journalism beyond its effort to give what it regards as a truer presentation of facts and an interpretation of them more in the interest of the worker. There is much in present journalism that is vulgar and absurd, but it is not the immediate mission of the labor press to change it. For the most part it does well to employ the vehicle to which the public is accustomed. Its own essential reforms are enough to begin with. One cannot quarrel too seriously with the *Seattle Union Record*, therefore, because it daubs a red ribbonhead across its entire front page, because it has a page of “Love, Life, Laughter” and a column devoted to “Beauty Chats,” or because it prints all it can get of the Stillman divorce case and runs as execrable “comics” as any of its competitors.

The most pressing difficulty of the labor press is financial. “We are always short,” writes the business manager of the *Oklahoma Leader*, with pleasing directness and candor. It is equally true of most of the other publications. Few are yet self-supporting from their circulation and advertising, but encouraging progress has been made. The *New York Call* has increased its advertising revenue 425 per cent in the last four years. Most of the paid publicity of the labor press is what may be called sympathetic advertising—inserted by persons favorable to the policies of the publication in question. There are some who hope that with wider circulation and prestige the labor press will get more patronage purely as a business proposition. This is open to question. With the lines forming as they are today, it seems more likely that business will be compelled by its affiliations to employ all its resources on one side or the other. This, however, does not mean a lessened support for the labor press. On the contrary, the infiltration of labor organization into the clerical and professional classes is going to increase its members and buying power, while the disgust of many small—and some large—merchants and

manufacturers with the present industrial autocracy will tend to line them up with the wage-earners. In addition, the development of cooperative business will give the labor press a valuable clientele.

Probably the most subtle and perilous problem of the labor press is to keep its news columns free from partisanship and disingenuous propaganda, its editorials clean from vilification and rancor. In this connection it is to be hoped that labor newspapers will presently realize the absurdity of referring to their business-controlled rivals as the “kept press.” No press is more a “kept” one than that of labor. Only, alas, the labor press is not as well kept as that of business!

The labor press is not a liberal press. It is frankly printed to advance the cause of labor and to present news from that standpoint; but it ought to be a free press, to present the facts as best it can obtain them, without deception, suppression, or editorial bias. One cannot condemn the labor press of today for its inadequacy; it is doing the best it can with its resources. But one may criticize it for news articles that are too editorial or too careless of facts, too much based on innuendo or hearsay. It is not enough that the labor press refute the untruths of the business-controlled newspapers, or be no more biased in the treatment of news. Readers must be won by a fresher atmosphere and a cleaner countenance. The past year has seen the beginning of a labor press acceptable to labor. The future demands a labor press that will serve the entire community.

Three Wise Men of the East

By FREDERICK PETERSON

I

One Seer from out the Bo Tree's mystic shade
Saw visions of the world that is to be—
The self forgot and thus from prison made free
Man facing fate serene and undismayed;

Freed from the blight of wealth and power and fame
He turns to truth and service to mankind,
Right thought, right striving, and a mindful mind
To reach Right Rapture his diviner aim.

II

A wise Old Man through blossoms of the peach
Beside the Yellow River saw the Way
In the spring splendor to a better day—
The Way to live, the Way that he must teach:

Be simple in your every want, be just,
Free of desire, compassionate, and mild;
Be gentle, humble as a little child;
Do good for evil, be obscure as dust.

III

And One saw from the shadow of the Cross
Peace in the world, a common brotherhood,
Each seeking lovingly the other's good
Finding his life through losing all its dross;

One Father smiling on the faults forgiven
As all come arm in arm and happily
Like little children to a father's knee—
The earth at last become the Kingdom of Heaven.

Franklin K. Lane

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

IT is a commonplace to say that if Franklin K. Lane had not been foreign born he would have been President of the United States or at least a Presidential candidate at the polls. In view of recent happenings is this not rather a dubious compliment? Certainly he was not of the traditional Ohio kind, waiting carefully to see what his party wished him to do before he took a position. Mr. Lane was a forthright, four-square man, a profound Liberal—what is called “a real character.” That is he had marked individuality. But he had more than that: he had courage, conviction, conscientiousness, coupled with a philosophy of existence. He had seen various kinds of our American life, something of our border-life, and he had made his way in a give and take which, fortunately enough, did not mar the finer side of him. He could be gentle as a woman; one ran across streaks of tenderness in him unexpectedly. Then he had sentiment and eloquence—if anybody doubts it let him read Mr. Lane’s apostrophe to the flag which deserves a place in every Americanization primer, but is probably much too “radical” in its tendencies and its implications to be beyond the suspicion of our professional hundred per-centers.

It may, however, be truly said that if Mr. Lane had lived and had been free to enter political life again he could easily have made himself a notable force. For he could arouse great personal enthusiasms and could readily have marshaled a group of young enthusiasts about him. Until he took service with the Doheny oil interests there was hope that he might be the leader of the routed liberal and progressive forces even though he could not be a Presidential candidate. Only a week before his death I heard of his having drawn up a list of the men he thought should lead in the reconstruction and reorganization of the Democratic Party. But to be a Cabinet member on the existing salary without private resources means to go into debt; Mr. Lane held on as long as he could and had only just got his head above water again. He was just the kind of man Mr. Wilson ought to have put forward as his understudy to be the party leader—but Mr. Wilson could not delegate a task like that to anybody—political fences were left to a Burleson!

Mr. Lane was most approachable as a Cabinet officer and was profoundly concerned with the welfare of his subordinates of the Interior Department. To build up an *esprit de corps* among them, to give them fellowship, to help them to lift themselves beyond the routine deadening drudgery of a government department, which blights so many ambitious and promising young men and women, were things close at heart. But beyond all that he had a brain; his thoughts ranged free; he knew both East and West; he was constantly turning out constructive ideas and plans and his was a real breadth of vision. So in the Washington wilderness those who like real men admired him greatly. The foreign diplomats who are accustomed to genuine intellectual power in high office quickly sought his society. It was instantly recognized that he, Lindley Garrison, and McAdoo were the forceful figures of the original Wilson Cabinet—Bryan had force, too, but was too untrained and unversed to apply it.

Yet one by one the forceful men went out and no such men took their places. When the war came for which

Mr. Lane had hoped—he wrote the threat into the original Lusitania note and was ready then for the ultimate—the greatest responsibilities went elsewhere. Mr. McAdoo at once received eight or nine offices and other men received great powers—it is difficult to recall the additional duties intrusted to Mr. Lane. Behind the scenes, however, he was credited with many valuable things; it is said that he helped notably in working out the schedule that made possible that marvelous bridge of boats across the Atlantic. But long before the pinch of financial necessity compelled Mr. Lane’s resignation it was quite too evident that he had lost the Presidential favor, that he was no longer in the inside Cabinet circle. Perhaps, like Lindley Garrison, he was too outspoken, besides having the temerity to disagree; at any rate an unhappy situation ended when he retired. If anyone should make a study of Mr. Wilson’s letters accepting the resignations of secretaries and assistant secretaries he will find that the one to Mr. Lane is quite inadequate for the man whom Republican and Democratic dailies alike have been rightly praising as one of our great Americans.

In a sense there was poetic justice in the failure of Mr. Lane to play the great role another than a Mr. Wilson would have assigned to him. Great liberal that Mr. Lane was, he had not learned the lesson that when war touches liberalism it shrivels and withers where it does not utterly destroy it. He came to Mr. Wilson’s standard an ardent upholder of the “New Freedom” and all that it connoted for social progress. He saw it dead before he left the Cabinet; he was shocked, I know, at the excesses of which the Burlesons and Lamars and Palmers were guilty, for he was one who loved justice, who personified tolerance, who knew the real and the lasting bases of our American freedom and of true democracy. He never spoke out against the acts of his associates, but he never publicly approved them. “Life,” he once said to the writer of these lines, “is just a beautiful adventure, to be flung away for any good cause.” But he did not understand that the manner of the flinging counts a great deal, that one must be quite certain of the cause; that one must be even surer as to the correctness of the weapons to be used. So he lived to see the utter collapse of the Wilson Administration—in its moral quality and in its home reform policies as soon as the war began, and in its foreign policies after Versailles. He lived to see a hundred thousand young Americans make a beautiful adventure of their precious young existences, at the behest of Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet, flinging them away for some exquisitely painted ideals which have not materialized and will not materialize in any such way. He lived to see how profoundly true in 1921 were Mr. Wilson’s words in January, 1917, that “peace without victory” was what the world needed—for by now it is, after all, a little difficult to find out just who it was that won the war and just exactly what was won. Certainly no one can contend that we have achieved a true peace by our great victories in battle.

But there can be no question of Mr. Lane’s bigness of heart and soul, nor of his acting ever from profound conviction. It is a pleasure to read that one of the great mountain peaks in Rainier National Park is to be named for him; it should be as outstanding as he was himself.

Why Our Budget System Will Not Reduce Taxes

By HARRIET CONNOR BROWN

CONGRESS has passed the Budget Bill—passed it with a joint flourish of trumpets by the Republican and Democratic bandmasters of both Houses of Congress. And now, let economies begin!

The country has been told repeatedly that there is waste in government expenditures—and none denies it—and that a budget system will enable officers of the Government to eliminate that waste—which I, for one, deny. It is well that we establish a budget system, but let us not deceive ourselves as to its efficacy. It is in the interest of clear thinking to have a balanced statement of revenues and expenditures. But reduction of taxes will not follow.

In the current year, we spend 68 per cent of our appropriations for the expenses of past wars, 20 per cent for the upkeep of our Army and Navy, and the remaining 12 per cent for all other expenses of government. Let us imagine ourselves looking over the shoulder of the new Director of the Budget, seeking with him to lighten the taxpayer's load. Suppose he turns first to that 68 per cent expended for past wars. It is composed of items like this: pensions, war-risk insurance, compensation for disability, the upkeep of soldiers' homes and soldiers' hospitals, the vocational education of mutilated soldiers, the interest on the war debt. What can be done with such items? Nothing. These are debts of honor—sacred and solemn obligations to the dead, the maimed, the sick, the bereft.

Suppose we turn next to that 20 per cent for future wars. Congress could do a great deal to relieve the people from the incubus of militarism and do it at once, but a Director of the Budget will be able to do very little unless Congress undergoes a change of heart and refuses point blank the requests of the Army and Navy. The first budget bills presented to Congress expressly excluded from the consideration of the Budget Bureau all appropriations for the sacred War and Navy Departments. That was as silly as if the head of a household were to say to his family sternly: "Now we must economize. We can't have food or shelter or clothing, but we can buy all the automobiles and shot-guns and flying machines that any of you want. Don't forget, we are poor and must economize."

In the Budget Bill which Congress has passed, the Director of the Budget will, theoretically, have the same chance in the War and Navy Departments as elsewhere to save money by lopping off useless jobs or simplifying routine tasks, but actually he will be powerless to effect a saving. The trouble is that Congress gives those two departments their money in lump sums. While scrutinizing with an eagle eye and a carping tongue every cent of the \$481,744,726 appropriated to the civil departments of the government, it hands over the military and naval allowances in large lump lots to officers of the Army and Navy and asks few if any questions. The result is that nothing a Director of the Budget may do toward "coordinating" or "unifying" expenses in those departments will be reflected in corresponding reductions of their estimates. The money saved will simply go to promote new war activities.

Only in the little area covered by the 12 per cent of our appropriations devoted to all non-military purposes of gov-

ernment will the Director of the Budget have power to effect economies. Considerable saving has already been made in that area and something can still be done there, but it is very much less than the public has been led to suppose. Many people—sober, public-spirited leaders of intelligence and influence—have declared that it was time to call a halt to the mad expenditures of Congress. It is. But it is also time that such people analyze correctly the problem which confronts the American nation. They have apparently believed that by administrative reforms in the government offices billions may be saved. Can they not see that, with 88 per cent of our appropriations expended for wars, no more than the whole of the remaining 12 per cent could possibly be saved? But if that were salvaged, it would be less than half a billion dollars. And in that case, all functions of government would have to cease except such as are performed for us by the War and Navy Departments and the self-sustaining Post Office Department.

To cut off absolutely the State and Treasury, the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor Departments, and the office of the Attorney General as well as Congress and the Courts, is, of course, not feasible or desirable, feebly as some of those agencies function. The most a skilful pruner of the budget may hope to save in the 12 per cent area to which his operations are necessarily confined will be from 1 to 2 per cent of the total annual appropriations, hardly enough to be reflected in the tax bill of the individual.

People do not seem to realize that in the Executive Branch of the service earnest efforts have been made to purge the government offices of extravagance. The Cockerell Commission of 1887, the Dockery Commission of 1895, the Keep Commission of 1905, and the Cleveland Commission of 1910 all made valuable suggestions to Congress as to how government methods might be improved and money saved, but Congress regarded their efforts with an unfriendly eye. All of these bodies died of abuse or malnutrition after two to four years of struggle to keep alive.

The most recent effort to stop the waste of public funds has been made by the Bureau of Efficiency, an office which, authorized by a Republican Senate and a Democratic House, has managed to hang on for eight years. As far as possible, under the restrictions imposed by Congress, it has worked at the four great problems of administration—the problems of organization, of personnel, of accounting, and of office methods. Until they are solved, no budget system can operate effectively and until armaments are reduced, no taxes can be light.

The point to note is this: Notable progress has been made in the Departments toward saving the people's money, but unfortunately Congress keeps on wasting the bulk of it on the Army and Navy. The people complain and then Congress tells them that the Executive Departments are so extravagant that a Bureau of the Budget must be established to teach them economy. The facts do not warrant this diagnosis. Admirable as is the idea of a Bureau of the Budget, it cannot do what Congress alone has power to do—REDUCE ARMAMENTS—and thus make possible the reduction of taxes.

Producers and Consumers in the Land of Opportunity

[Items gleaned from recent issues of *Capper's Weekly*]

BEEF STEERS DOWN; STEAKS UP

Good beef steers at Chicago dropped from \$9.50 a hundred pounds on February 15 to \$7.45 on April 12. During the same period the price of dressed beef of this quality was increased from \$14 to \$16.50.

A HEADLESS PROCEDURE

Last spring a Kansas farmer bought cattle and put a 300-pound gain on them. Now they are worth \$5 a head less than he paid for them.

In the year ending January 21, 1921, the U. S. Department of Agriculture reports that farmers lost in beef cattle not only all they had gained during the war but 50 per cent more.

WOOL LAMBS

George A. Todd, a McClain County, Oklahoma, wool grower, recently shipped 2,000 pounds of wool to a Kansas City commission house for which he received \$210.97, less \$64.39 freight charges, \$1.93 war tax, \$4.80 storage, and \$46.78 commission, a commission of more than 20 per cent. These trimmings totaled \$117.22, or nearly \$25 more than Todd was paid for his wool, and the commission man wrote he ought to be glad to get that.

The wife of a Colorado ranchman paid \$5.25 a pound for the yarn to knit the children some mittens.

A Washington restaurant gets more for one lamb chop than a farmer receives for a whole sheep.

STORY OF A FLEECING

When M. E. Haskins, Kansas farmer, shipped 155 pounds of wool to a commission broker in Kansas City two weeks ago, he asked the broker to send him a sweater and buy and pay for it out of the wool money.

After the freight, war tax, commission, storage, and insurance were paid by farmer Haskins, he had \$11.40 coming for his wool, but the sweater and express charges cost \$15.15. And it only takes one pound of yarn to make a sweater!

As the account stands now, Haskins owes the commission man \$3.75 and has \$4 to pay for shearing.

LEATHER HIDE

Hides have suffered a slump of 50 per cent in price in New Zealand, but even then bring a value, translated into American money, of 12 to 13 cents a pound and first calfskins 24 cents.

In this country, with much less live stock per capita, and far greater demand for shoes and leather, the price ranges from 2 to 3 cents and commission houses advise farmers that hides are unwelcome at that price.

FOUR LEATHER STRINGS

A Clovis, N. M., farmer sold the hide of a yearling steer. He got 45 cents for it. Then needing four hame strings for a harness, he went to another store to buy them. The charge was 60 cents.

A farmer can get about \$2 for a 60-pound cowhide if he will pay a little more than that to ship it. The hide makes from 40 to 50 pounds of leather, for which he will have to pay from \$1.50 to \$2 a pound if he wants to buy back a piece for harness repairs or to re-sole his shoes.

WHEN A HIDE BECOMES A ROBE

James Pratt, Baker, Mont., farmer, obtained a beautiful coal-black hide from a 2-year-old steer which he wished to have tanned for a robe. He sent it to a hide and fur company. The fur company wrote:

"To tan this hide will cost you \$12.17 freight coming here. To line it and make it into a robe will cost you \$22.50 complete.

We are not doing any tanning this season without \$5 in advance, and will ask you to remit us \$5 on account. If we do not hear from you within 10 days we shall be compelled to send you check for the value of the hide which is \$1.13 less deduction of 72 cents for freight."

CABBAGE PAYING THE FREIGHT

The freight on cabbage from the Rio Grande District to Chicago is \$25 a ton, including refrigeration charges and war tax.

The growers get from \$5 to \$7 a ton. Cabbage retails in Chicago at \$130 a ton.

Freight rates are blamed by both producer and consumer. But in most cases there also is a toll-taker somewhere along the line who is not getting the blame that is coming to him, although taking more than his share of the benefits.

WHERE TWO HEADS ARE WORSE THAN ONE

A Kansas City business man who owns a ranch in Arizona shipped a car of cabbage to New York and when he heard from the commission man it was not a remittance, but a bill for \$70 balance to cover charges.

HAY A PRODUCER

Forest Luther, Cimarron, Kan., recently shipped three cars of hay to Kansas City. After paying the freight and terminal charges and expense of baling, he had to put up 50 cents a ton out of his pocket.

FIFTY-FIFTY

A Kansas commission man writes: "Our rate on hay to Kansas City is \$3.40, to Chicago \$8.90, to St. Louis \$7.40, to Memphis \$7.40, or about half of what ordinary prairie hay is bringing on these markets."

POTATOES TALE OF A BUSHEL

During the investigation of the cost of living by the Senate Committee it was found that a bushel of potatoes for which a farmer in Michigan received \$1 was sold in Washington for \$6.

The committee traced its many sales. The farmer sold to the village dealer. The agent of a Detroit buyer took the potatoes. The buyer sold them to a commission agent from Washington. The Washington wholesaler sold them to the retail dealer. Each of these six men, of course, took his commission.

H. N. Armstrong, member of the Marinette County Potato Growers' Association, writes from Wausaukee, Wis.:

"It cost Wisconsin potato farmers \$1 a bushel to raise potatoes last year. Now for No. 1 U. S. grade we are offered 31 cents, while the people are paying from \$1.50 to \$4 for the same grade of potatoes. We cannot hold over our potatoes as a grain farmer can his grain, so we have to sell for nothing."

COTTON PICKING BUT NOT CHOOSING

"I have made nearly 100 bales of cotton, and when I pay for the picking and the rent, I won't have enough left to buy a pair of shoes. I stopped my children from going to school to pick cotton to get enough to run us awhile. Guess I will catch it as we have compulsory school laws. But it was either pick or starve," writes a Texas grower.

GRAIN CHICKEN FEED

A car of maize and other grain recently shipped from Goodwell, Okla., to Chicago, cost the shipper \$550 freight charges and brought the grower a return of \$592.

Another car shipped from the Panhandle to market at an expense of \$525, netted the producer \$475. Out of this he had to pay 15 to 20 cents a hundred pounds for threshing in addition to the 51 cents a hundred paid the railway company in freight charges.

A Curious Delusion

By BARON BEAN

INDIVIDUALS sometimes go crazy and imagine things that aren't so. But this is the first authentic case on record of the whole world doing so.

The world is pretty sick. It has hallucinations. For two and a half years, now, it has been laboring under the amazing delusion that the Allies stopped the Kaiser's last drive on Paris, repulsed his armies, and ended the war victoriously. It's a case of a sick man in his fatal delirium imagining himself well. Like all hallucinations this one speedily invented the most remarkable fictions to jibe in with its original proposition. We were told, and we believed, that the peace conference was held at Versailles instead of at Berlin, that the Allies and not the Kaiser dictated the terms, that there was formed a League of Nations based on President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and—oh, a whole imaginary history of two years.

The writer was himself afflicted by this strange malady for a long time and has only just recovered. He knows that he will be looked on as crazy by those who are still under its effects. Therefore, if you are one of those who are still afflicted with this distemper he begs you to read this through carefully, not to skip a word, to use your reasoning power as far as you possibly can, and to see if you cannot convince yourself—you are wrong, you are mistaken, you are harboring a delusion, consider carefully, look about you.

Now, if you are sure that you are in a state of mind where you will not let your delusion affect you, if you will take a new orientation, and reason out the matter without prejudice, we will go ahead.

Was it not the Allies who fought for democracy? Was it not the Kaiser who tortured Belgium, who countenanced the atrocities of the Turk, who ravished women in France, who shot civilians and murdered non-combatants, who enslaved subject peoples and tried to dominate the world? Commencing to remember, eh? Now, just try a little harder. The Germans were brutal blood-beasts, they threatened to overrun the world with horror; and the civilized nations of the world banded themselves together against the menace. So the issue was clearly drawn. If the Allies won, they would make the world a decent place to live in, safe for democracy and the small nations; they would see to it that this would be the last of all wars; they would reestablish the freedom of the seas. And if the Kaiser won, the world would be enslaved to imperialism and militarism, new generations would be trained up to war, the common people would be downtrodden and oppressed.

Now, consider, safely out of your trance: Is the world safe for democracy? Are the seas free? Are atrocities abolished? Are small nations safe? Is war wiped out? Clearly, clearly, the Allies *did not* win the war. On the other hand, is not militarism rampant? Imperialism omnipresent? The commonest rights of democracy, like free assemblage and free speech, everywhere denied? Clearly, the Kaiser has achieved his ambition and rules the world.

Are you coming out of your coma, now? Commencing to comprehend? Contrast then the facts that English soldiers are committing atrocities in Ireland, and American soldiers (God help us!) in Haiti, that France is building a huge army and America and Japan huge navies, that warfare and

blockade are being waged against women and children in Russia—contrast all these things with the Allied utterances during the war, and what do they mean but that the Kaiser's viceroys rule these countries, and compel them to use their master's methods? Compare the Treaty of Berlin, the so-called Treaty of Versailles, with the German treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and then contrast it with the Allies' professions culminating in the declaration "No annexations, no indemnities."

Do you feel better now? Cheer up! You'll get over it, with rest and care. It's like coming out of ether at first. But take it easy, and you'll soon be all right again.

In the Driftway

TWO interesting questions have been raised in a suit in Boston in which \$1,000 in damages is asked by the owner of a dog that was killed on a city street by an automobile. To the contention that the animal was killed in spite of its exercise of "due care," the driver of the car responds that the dog committed suicide. The attorney for the driver contends that "the dog was crossing the street in front of the defendant's automobile. He suddenly turned and revolved in a circle, snapping and biting at other animals. Becoming despondent at his inability to dislodge said animals, he hurled himself under the defendant's automobile, and thereby committed suicide." The court is thus called upon to determine what constitutes "due care" in a public highway on the part of a dog, and whether such an animal may be considered to have ended its life intentionally.

* * * * *

WITHOUT attempting to settle the legal question of "due care," the Drifter may record his impression that neither dogs nor cats have yet synchronized themselves to accord with the speed, power, and noiselessness of the automobile. He is constantly struck with the heedlessness and helplessness of these animals in the midst of modern street traffic. He is not familiar with any statistics of automobile accidents among dogs and cats (it's hard enough to keep track among humans), but he believes the death-rate to be high. Heaven knows it's high among men and women—especially among little children—but still the human animal, generally less alert and less quick than the dog or cat, seems to be adapting himself more rapidly to the perils of automobile traffic. Take, for instance, that popular pastime of country dogs of running out toward passing vehicles, barking, jumping up at them, and following them. This was all right in the day of the horse and wagon, but it's mighty dangerous with the motor car. Still, few but dead dogs seem to have learned the lesson. The other day the Drifter saw a cat, strayed from some office building, making its way through the crowded downtown section of Broadway at the noon hour. It was plainly frightened and out of its element. Crouching and halting, it tried now the sidewalk and now the roadway, at home in neither. It did best on the curb between the two, but it didn't seem to realize even that. Time and again it missed by a hair's breadth the wheel of an automobile or the shoe of a pedestrian. The Drifter would have picked it up and carried it, but did not know where it belonged or wither it was bound. The city-bred man, with all his bodily failings, has adapted himself to his environment. In the forest or on the plains, he is scorned by the Indian, keener in respect to everything that

counts in such an environment. But transfer the Indian to one of our cities. He does not know how to handle himself in a crowd. He has not learned how to "step lively"—to pack himself or be packed in a subway train. Ten thousand of him in downtown New York at once would hopelessly obstruct street traffic and disorganize the transportation service.

* * * * *

IN regard to the custom of suicide among animals, the Gentle Reader may be reminded of the Faithful Pig. As recounted by William J. Locke in "The Beloved Vagabond," the cafe of the Cochon Fidèle in Paris came by its name because of the blameless life and the tragic despair of a pig that was the family pet. They kept the pig not only in the parlor but pretty much all over the shop, and it fell in love with the daughter of the proprietor of the cafe, if the Drifter remembers aright. (He usually does not.) Anyhow, the Faithful Pig fell in love with one of the young women about the cafe, and used to sit on his haunches gazing soulfully at her by the hour. His love was unrequited, and one day the adored one disappeared to marry—another. For several days the Cochon Fidèle waited in desolation. Then, walking out into the street, he stepped deliberately under the wheels of a street car—wasn't it?—and was snuffed out. The Locke story, to be sure, is not everywhere credited. André Warnod in his "Bals, Cafés, et Cabarets," says that the only client of the place in question for the first six months was a spy who sat there nightly to hear what the walls were conspiring about. Hence the name Faithful Pig. Locke's version is the one the Drifter prefers to believe. And he is sure that if a pig can commit suicide, a dog would not let himself be outdone. For a dog must live up to his reputation as man's best friend, while a pig is an animal little esteemed in polite society except—as Charles Lamb preached—in the state of a roast.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Ireland, England, and the United States

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Charles Noonan, in your number of February 16, stated some plain facts which you commented on very widely, and wisely. It is quite true, as you say, that even in your country the facts are not known, and less so in England.

The main facts of the unjust treatment of Ireland by England through the centuries are fairly well known, for even such British historians as John Richard Green have exposed them. This is what I presume Mr. Noonan means. But the invariable answer to this by Britons is that there was much injustice all over the world a hundred years back and it is only the Irish who remember these.

This is not the case, however, because while the British grievances have mostly been corrected or eliminated the Irish grievances have continued to the present day. I will not here refer to the half century of bad government which culminated in the egregious famine of 1847-8, which in its consequences I may add gave you some of your more valuable citizens because they were driven from their native land, but propose to deal with events since 1914.

When the war broke out, after reporting for duty at Belfort in Alsace, I was ordered home and did a considerable amount of recruiting in London and in England generally. Then I was ordered to Ireland as a major in the Irish Division where, as I had been successful in recruiting in England, I was asked

to recruit in Cork and Munster generally. The first point I wish to make is this and I will take the others in succession:

1. That in the early months of the Great War, from November, 1914, to January, 1915, the Irish were as enthusiastic or even more so than the British; that they were as keen to fight for chivalry, for their old ally France which was being attacked, and for a small nation like their own which was being bullied. The Irish—I mean especially the Nationalist Irish of the South and West—were glad to find themselves alongside the English in a fight against wrong. They were nearer to the English in heart in those months than they had ever been for at least 150 years. But there was a subtle influence at work in Ireland at that time against Irish Catholic recruiting—and it was used in a very base manner. The Unionists, the active "so-called" loyalists, did not want their case destroyed by the production of an enormous Nationalist army fighting for France alongside England. They did everything possible to prevent recruiting among the true Irish and nearly wrecked the Allied cause in so doing. The very men who are the most bitter against England now are those who helped me most in my recruiting campaign in November and December, 1914. You cannot have an effect without a cause and I leave you to think out the cause of this change.

2. The Rebellion in 1916, a small rebellion of not more than 10,000 persons out of a population of nearly 4,000,000, was suppressed in a brutal, a stupid, and a hysterical manner. There would have been no rebellion had we been allowed to recruit on sane and human principles in 1914—appealing to the sentiments of the Irish rather than to English jingoism.

The inexcusable murders of innocent men in Portobello Barracks, the murders of the young men in North King Street, Dublin—after the surrender of the leaders of the revolt, actually within the sound of their mothers and wives—though the coroner's juries confirmed the indictment of wilful murder against the troops concerned, have never to this day formed the subject of an inquiry. Then the slow doing to death of the so-called leaders of the revolt (among these two assistant scout masters of Sinn Fein scouts of 21 and 22 years of age) set Irish nerves on end.

These events confirmed them in the belief—not an unnatural one in the circumstances, and in spite of all that had been gloriously said by that hero and martyr, Tom Kettle—that there was not two ha'pence to choose between Prussia in Belgium and England in Ireland.

3. But I must remind you that in spite of this for two years and more there was little or no political crime in Ireland. It is admitted that Ireland is more immune from ordinary crime than any of the four states which constitute the so-called United Kingdom.

In spite of immense provocation—the imprisonment of more than 4,000 persons without charge or trial—Ireland remained calm. Most of these persons have now been released, it is true, but they have been released because there was no possible charge to bring against them. After such an experience of British justice it is not to be supposed that they went home singing "Rule Britannia." It was not in fact until the Irish were driven by the withholding of the ordinary precautions which the common law provides for the liberty of the subject and after years of martial law methods that they hit back as they are now doing. It is ridiculous for us to speak of the universally condemned methods of the Auxiliary Police (the Black and Tans) as retaliative—as "reprisals." The fact is that the spontaneous actions of the Irish people against a state of affairs which no free people should be called upon to endure was in retaliation for their sufferings. It is certain that many government officials have been shot and many troops ambushed, and this will continue inevitably until the cause is withdrawn and they are given that security from governmental persecution which is the right of every free people.

FRANCIS FLETCHER VANE

Florence, Italy, April 17

OF HUTTON (Baronet)

Charles Genung

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you permit a memorial word on Charles H. Genung, whose passing was chronicled on May 13, by one who knew him long and well? He was a Brooklyn man who, after being graduated from Columbia, went to Germany for a residence of several years. As the private secretary of Hermann Grimm he had exceptional opportunities to see the best of the literary, artistic, and court life of Berlin in the amiable pre-war days. His knowledge of German letters was wide and genial, and hardly less was his culture in music, with Wagner the special god. A proof of all this was his translation, with Edward Breck as collaborator, of a well-known German novel of musical life in which Liszt was the principal figure.

Returning in the nineties to his own country, Mr. Genung became a steady contributor to *The Nation*, his particular province being the review of German literature. His work in this field was much esteemed and truly authoritative. When, over twenty years ago, the late Charles Dudley Warner came to New York to edit his comprehensive Library of The World's Best Literature, Mr. Genung was made an associate editor and in that capacity many of the essays and critical estimates in those volumes were signed by him, covering both German and other continental writers; notable among them, his paper on Sienkiewicz.

During the war, Mr. Genung did honorable special government work at Washington, straining his physical powers in so doing; and throughout these late troublous years his patriotism was as intense as was his sorrow keen to see Germany fall away from the elder ideals which had won his love in the past.

Charles Genung was the soul of genial, jovial comradeship. His wit, bonhomie, social grace, and sincere love for the things of the mind and the spirit will keep him in the affectionate remembrance of his fellows.

New York, May 17

RICHARD BURTON

The President's English

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Mencken's sufficiently Menckenesque discussion of the Gamalielese language opens its broadside with the charge, first of all, that Mr. Harding uses the pronoun "he" to refer back to "one," a construction which Mr. Mencken characterizes as a fault of the present day.

Mr. Mencken might learn from the dictionary, if he did not scorn to be dependent on such auxiliaries, that this construction of "he" after "one" is classic, and that the tendency to prefer a repetition of "one" is an innovation of the present day—an innovation which has by no means yet attained to universal acceptance by first-class speakers and writers.

But suppose the case were otherwise. Suppose that forms like "one thinks he knows" or "one puts on his hat" had fallen totally into disuse; or suppose that no other form than "one thinks one knows" or "one puts on one's hat" had ever yet occurred in English. What then?

Why, then it would remain true that the construction of "he" after "one" is one of those constructions which are so perfectly consonant to the general meaning and use of the words employed that it must always be legitimate to introduce them as neologisms even in the absence of precedent. "He" is a pronoun to refer to any sufficiently identified person who is grammatically treated as third person masculine; "one" is capable of sufficiently identifying a person to serve as antecedent; therefore "one thinks he knows" would be all right tomorrow even if it did not anywhere exist today.

Unquestionably there are cases where the consecution "one . . . he" involves some awkwardness which makes it prefer-

able to use the other form. The same is just as true of "one . . . one." It is the characteristic of a rich and free language to be able to use either form at will, according as circumstances give occasion for this or for that; and, for the better maintaining of this freedom, that in cases where neither form is intrinsically objectionable personal habit should be allowed to prefer either form without being subject to censure therefor. Of course, there will be fashions of the day, making the one form commoner at one date and the other at another date; but such fashions must never be so pretentious as to undertake to taboo either form, else we shall be impoverishing the language by unmotivated strictness of regulation.

And if the English language is to be corseted into an academic strait-waistcoat of schoolmadamly rules, is Mencken the man for the job?

Ballard Vale, Mass., May 4, 1921

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

The Tools of Reason

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wish to protest, on behalf of The Principia School, against the spirit and language of the editorial relative to Christian Science which appeared in your publication of May 4. It is not that I resent your antagonism to Christian Science, nor do I wish to suppress the free discussion of any matter of public interest. However, unless free speech is accompanied by truth and justice, in its efforts to sway popular opinion, it becomes a menace rather than a blessing. Ridicule and venom are not the tools of reason. I therefore ask you to discontinue our subscription to your publication, for if this editorial is indicative of the spirit inspiring your writers we certainly cannot expect our students to arrive at the truth of any situation by reference to your columns.

St. Louis, May 10

FREDERIC E. MORGAN

[The editorial here objected to contained, to our best knowledge and belief, no venom. If there was ridicule in it, it was directed not at reason but at the sort of unreason which is willing to be addressed only in "the accents of compliment or at least of considerate euphemism."—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Andrew Carnegie in the Homestead Strike

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was reading in *The Nation* for May 4 a long review of "The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie." I came upon a pyrotechnic display of phrases, "extraordinary firmness of character, indefatigable energy and initiative, and a 'creative' benevolence, together with abundant humor, poetic sentiment, and deep feeling with regard to the things that matter."

I rubbed my eyes, wondering what was happening to me. Then I turned the page and saw the name of the reviewer, Stuart P. Sherman. So I understood in part—everything but *The Nation's* part. Will you tell me what it was—a joke on your readers, or a case of cold feet, or a sudden temporary reversion to respectability, a visit from the ghost of E. L. Godkin? It was exactly like walking down Fifth Avenue and meeting a lady in hoop skirts!

There is no use making any protest to Professor Sherman, of course, for his ideas were crystallized a hundred years ago. But won't you for the protection of your readers discuss the part of Andrew Carnegie in the Homestead Strike, how and why he ran away from it; and also how he came to make so many rotten armor plates for United States battleships, and how he supported President Cleveland's tariff policy as his private punishment therefor?

Pasadena, California, May 6

UPTON SINCLAIR

[By printing Mr. Sinclair's letter we call attention to aspects of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's career which were not touched upon in Professor Sherman's review.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Books

He Did the Right Thing

The Man Who Did the Right Thing. By Sir Harry Johnston.
The Macmillan Company.

GIVEN an average conscience a man may, like the pious grocer, sand the sugar, dust the pepper, and then go to prayers; he may follow these edifying occupations with unalloyed satisfaction from his own point of view and, if he piles up a handsome fortune, with entire approval on the part of the community. It is easy and profitable to do the right thing if you see the world through the same moral spectacles as your neighbors. But suppose a man has a high-class conscience, one that obliges him to uphold a moral code far more complex and subtle than the code prescribed by law or custom? In that case, his efforts to follow his inner promptings will quite transcend the grasp of the average mind, and he will probably find himself shunted to a steep and thorny path which only an equipment of unusual courage, intelligence, and good humor will enable him to cope with.

A man with a conscience and an equipment of this sort is Roger Brentham, English consul and explorer in German East Africa. He does the right thing, not in the vulgar cash interpretation of that phrase, but in the sense in which Samuel Butler's "best people" would understand it. That is, he acts like a public-spirited gentleman in choosing between his appetites and his responsibilities, in managing his love affairs, his consular duties, and his political aspirations, in dealing with relations, friends, political superiors, missionaries, Negroes, and even Germans!—and, above all, in developing the resources of the Happy Valley, an African concession of which he becomes the director. By way of requital his career is impeded, his talents for African administration go a-begging, and the duffers of the Foreign Office shove him into the background until his extraordinary success in "German East" causes British Colonial circles to prick up their ears.

The book is no lyrical monologue woven solely of the stuff of Brentham's dreams, neuroses, complexes, intimations, fears. The reader divides his very lively time between Africa and England; and while he comes and goes with Brentham, he picks up an intimate or a nodding acquaintance with some forty-odd characters representing a remarkably wide range of social rank as well as all sorts and conditions of rectitude and scoundrelism. These characters torment or delight us just as they would if we were to meet them without, instead of within, the covers of a book; and the fact that the principals rub shoulders with easily identifiable public figures thinly disguised by names like Choselwhit or Lord Wiltshire, and even with descendants of famous fictional personages like Sir Willowby Patterne (a grandson of the Egoist), subtracts nothing from our sense of reality. Why indeed should it, when this is precisely what happens in real life?

The chief beauty of Johnston's portraiture is its vitality, its stormy, dynamic, pulsating vitality. Consider the jolly Stotts ("who were born perfectly good so that getting religion could not make them better or more likable, but only afflicted them with a mania for quoting hymns, psalms, and Bible texts *à tout propos*"); the worldly churchman, Bream ("whose dress was so nearly unclerical that you might have been pardoned for not spotting him at once for a parson, and he would have been the first to pardon you"); Vicky-Long-i'-the-tooth; the ineffable Molyneux; the sulphurous Mrs. Baines; not forgetting the swashbuckling Stolzenberg (a thoroughly plausible and acceptable scoundrel, and not a celluloid caricature like the Teutons who disfigure Conrad's romances)—what a matchless collection of vignettes they are! And how naturally these deft sketches, like the larger portraits of Lucy, Ann Jamblin, or the ever-dependable Maud, are fitted into the epic breadth of the story! In affording us a survey of the humanity of a period,

they irresistibly call to mind the gallery of masterpieces in Chaucer's Prologue.

Sir Harry Johnston is a man of action and an artist to boot, and this amplitude of interests doubtless accounts for the open-air vigor and wholesomeness that permeate his story. We value an author's writings according to the intensity of life that he feels and that he makes us feel. Judged by this test, Johnston's work belongs in the very first rank of contemporary novelists. His books are conceived in the great tradition of the English novel—the Fielding-Dickens tradition—a big canvas and a big spiritual attitude on the part of the artist who handles the brush. Life as he depicts it in his African novel has depth, solidity, picturesqueness, and magnitude. Even the "natives" are flesh and blood (and brains!) like ourselves—witness how adroitly they ply the soul-saving missionary with questions "as to how the white man became so rich and why he could not teach this method to their young people."

Here, and always in the atmosphere of ideas that accompanies the physical atmosphere of English landscapes and African escarpments, Johnston tips his satiric lance with light and reveals "the great character that can follow a great theme to a great conclusion." For the high level on which the action is pitched is a sustained one. True, it is no thanks to England that Brentham never flinches from serving her well. When the Empire celebrates its Diamond Jubilee, the hero of the Happy Valley is permitted to watch the procession from the side lines instead of being invited to act as a participant. Yet Britannia rules the waves (and a good bit of mother earth) and continues to give the world points on government and sundry other matters of moment. What is the trick that enables England, in spite of Ireland, Imperialism, muddling through, Pecksniffianism, and Podsnappery, to outdistance her competitors? We part with Brentham satisfied that the secret lies in the siren fascination by which she contrives to keep in her service a proportionately greater number of men like Brentham, men who set their purposes beyond hope and above despair, and who, from this vantage point, become the men who do the right thing.

FELIX GRENDON

Whitelaw Reid

The Life of Whitelaw Reid. By Royal Cortissoz. Charles Scribner's Sons. 2 vols.

WHITELAW REID'S claim to remembrance rests upon his work as an editor, as a diplomatist, and as one of the leaders of the Republican Party. Whether in either of these capacities he may properly be accounted great depends a good deal upon the point of view. He certainly made the *New York Tribune* for many years one of the best known and most influential American newspapers, broadening constantly the range of its news, expounding Republican doctrine in clear and forcible fashion in its editorial columns, training and disciplining a staff to whom his word was law as well as gospel, and drawing into his staff of correspondents and contributors a long list of distinguished names. In these several respects, but particularly as an editorial writer, he was a worthy member of the group of great American journalists to which Godkin, Dana, and Watterson belonged. That he left no successor in the newspaper field was due in part to the change in political habit and public taste which has subordinated editorial comment to news, "features," and correspondence, and in part to a jealous sense of prerogative which saw to it that no member of the *Tribune* staff developed a capacity for editorial writing which might seriously rival his own. His career as a diplomatist was less distinguished, but he made an agreeable impression in Paris and London as a courteous and cultivated gentleman and an accomplished host—the latter a function which his wealth enabled him to perform with becoming lavishness—while as one of the American peace commissioners at the close of the war with Spain he did all that could be ex-

pected of an envoy whose every important step was dictated from Washington. His position as a Republican leader was a natural consequence of his control of the *Tribune*, and made him for a generation an important, although hardly a determining, influence in party councils. If he cannot be said to have made presidents, he may at least be credited with having done more than most men to help elect them and to commend their policies to the country.

Mr. Cortissoz has a lively newspaper style and has written a book which is easy reading. No important facts of Reid's public career appear to have escaped his pursuit. His consistent presentation of Reid's view of the case, however, to the virtual exclusion of any other, robs his work of the critical character which political biography at least ought to possess, and gives us a book which in all essential respects is as partisan as was Reid himself. "Rebels" and "Jeff Davis" were undoubtedly the language of the time as they were of Reid and the *Tribune*, but they are hardly in place today in elaborate biographical writing. The *Tribune* magnified Hayes, minimized Arthur, presented Grant as a low type of politician from whom no good was to be expected, and pilloried Cleveland for his appointments and his attack upon protection; and Mr. Cortissoz sees no reason to interpose dissent. It is, in fact, a *Tribune* biography of a *Tribune* editor. Its relieving feature is its wealth of letters to and from Reid, some of them delightful pieces of letter-writing.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Balkanized Europe

Balkanized Europe. By Paul Scott Mowrer. E. P. Dutton Company.

PAUL SCOTT MOWRER has chosen an excellent title and lives up to its implications in a survey of recently belligerent continental Europe outside of Russia and the new Baltic states. He asks indulgence because "the book is frankly 'journalistic.'" But the really scientific study of the whirling politico-social cinema would be impossible. The moving finger scrawls in Europe. The philosophy of Heraclitus—that all is flux—is its only certain creed. "My neighbor is my enemy, but my neighbor's neighbor is my friend"—is the political principle which guides the new "Balkan" states. In each there rage also suspicion and hatred of minorities. The people live "in an atmosphere of war rather than of peace"; their military burdens are crushing, yet the tendency is to increase these, in the belief "that the latest war was by no means the last." "Boundaries have ceased to be imaginary lines of demarcation. They have become more impenetrable than 'Chinese walls.'" The fantastic tangle resulting from the self-imposed isolation of the new states Mark Twain should be alive to chronicle. "It is the Dark Ages over again," concludes Mr. Mowrer, after ample proof.

His characterizations of the various countries are vivid and distinct. Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia receive honorable mention. Despite the devastation suffered by the former, its various groups are not far apart, tolerant in spirit, and filled, though not chauvinistically, with ambitions for their national growth and welfare. Czecho-Slovakia, while gravely beset by the problem of insurgent minorities and the difficulties imposed by natural barriers, has made the greatest progress of all the new states.

Austria and Poland, on the other hand, appear to have a far less favorable outlook. For the former, the author sees no hope of survival except by union with Germany, which the French now forbid. Among Poland's difficulties Mr. Mowrer cites the continued warfare and "two formidable obstacles: first, the indifference of the Polish Government, and second, the superstition and fatalism of the Polish masses." Typhus is endemic. "The entire Polish administration is so inexperienced and so torn by personal jealousies and lack of coordination that the few measures which the Government has endeavored to enforce have remained dead letters." Trains filled with typhus-

infested refugees unload their pestilential burdens in a Warsaw station and leave an hour later as passenger trains, "without the cars being even so much as swept."

In Hungary, shorn of much territory which its inhabitants consider theirs, Mr. Mowrer detects a great menace for the future peace of Europe. The Magyars—hating and harboring designs against their neighbors—will use every means to regain their lost provinces. Moreover, Hungary is classed as the chief among propagandists—the foremost among the nations of Europe in point of advertising efficiency. Yet curiously Mr. Mowrer seems himself to have fallen a partial victim to this propaganda. He seems to doubt the existence of any "White terror" in Hungary. Possibly he has not read the Wedgewood report.

He does not present by any means a hopeless picture. He is distinctly optimistic about Europe's recovery, and his analysis of the factors delaying it is in most respects sound. He is clear about the responsibility of the French for many of Europe's present difficulties, while sympathetically understanding the background which created the present French psychology of fear. His detachment is the more valuable in that he is the Paris correspondent for American newspapers and his natural leaning has always been strongly pro-Entente and genuinely Francophile. Yet he is in no doubt as to the permanent collapse of the Entente by reason of the complete divergence of the interests of its constituents; and his conception of the purposes of British imperialism on the Continent by no means suggests intertwined Allied flags, nor the pledging and toasting of all the after-dinner speeches of recent years.

In his attitude toward Russia he is conventional and betrays less understanding. His comments on the League of Nations are unimportant. But his analysis of the failure of the United States to understand European psychology is illuminating, and he concludes with the urgent plea to America to become informed regarding European affairs. "We should have, not only a general European policy, but we should know what we think of in the case of each separate European country, great or small. A wilful ignorance of international politics is the worst possible preparation for the inevitable emergencies of the future." This is sound advice, and furnishes an excellent reason why the average American should be possessed of the information which "Balkanized Europe" in part supplies.

E. H. G.

Poetry in Plays

The Two Mothers. By John G. Neihardt. The Macmillan Company.

King Lear's Wife. The Crier by Night. The Riding to Lithend. Midsummer Eve. Laodice and Danaë. Plays by Gordon Bottomley. Small, Maynard and Company.

SO seldom now do verse plays have anything vivid in them, either by way of action or by way of poetry, that it is a relief to come upon volumes like these two. The first is very much slighter than the second, and certainly inferior; Mr. Neihardt has only recently turned from narrative poems of the American scene to more or less exotic drama, whereas Mr. Bottomley in England has been engaged with romantic tragedy for almost a quarter of a century. But both men are undeniably artists, and both make definite contributions to the body of beautiful English speech.

The two mothers dealt with by Mr. Neihardt in his two brief tragedies are a nameless Russian peasant woman, who murders her son, and Agrippina, Nero's mother, whose son murders her. Both pieces are laconic and bitter, with considerable power in their grim epigrams and their tigerish phrases. "Eight Hundred Rubles" is hackneyed in plot—the son returns from his travels disguised as a stranger and is killed for his money—but spare and impressive in style. "Agrippina," taken, like Arthur Symonds's recent "Death of Agrippina," from Suetonius and

Tacitus, where many even better subjects lie unused, is a profoundly touching piece, treating as it does the love of a gorgeous woman for a bestial son whom she has put in high place. Her animal affection as he pets her, being drunk, and her incredulity at the end when his officers arrive at the country house to stab her, are handled with speed and concentration in Mr. Neihardt's heroic couplets, if not with fine or reflective temper. Mr. Neihardt seems better able to manage his action here than he was in "The Song of Hugh Glass," where the necessity of explaining the scenes and rationalizing the transitions in regular verse led frequently to an unhappy stiffness.

The five plays of Mr. Bottomley, published in a Chiswick quarto, contain blank verse that is practically unique today for variety and sincerity, delicacy and weight. Their author is so saturated with the poetry of his island that even the verses in which he addresses dedications to his friends give off a musty fragrance as of the seventeenth century, when poets cherished their poems above all other things, and frankly exulted to commend them. And he is so much a master of the poetry inhering in old times and far places that his volume seems already to have been a long while written, his lines seem this soon to have gathered luminous mold.

In choosing his subjects he evidently has been directed by an interest in feminine cruelty; he has been absorbed in studying the wills of relentless women as they carve their gray designs on backgrounds of black fate. In "King Lear's Wife," a play whose atmosphere is cold and thick with prehistoric frost, Hygd, the invalid queen, Goneril, her virgin daughter, and Gormflaith, a faithless waiting woman, are all three of them detached and deadly quiet in their hates. The blood that flows when Goneril stabs Gormflaith for her sinning with the king is not hot blood but cold—cold and severely decorative. The scene, after all, is no real place on earth, but rather "the gray chambers of a fantastic brain," as Edward Thomas said. "The Crier by Night" drifts back into Celtic legend, its persons being a Norse peasant and his cruel wife Thorgerd, their Irish bondmaid Blaid, and an Old Strange Man of the mere in the mountains who comes with the mist one soothing night and carries the bondmaid away. "Midsummer Eve" is crusted thick with the purest ancient speech of peasant England, is redolent of timeless lanes and barnways. Five kitchen and dairy girls, Nan, Bet, Ursel, Maudlin, and Lib, steal to the barn on Midsummer Eve to await apparitions of the men who will become their husbands, but see only the fetch of Nan, who therefore will die before she has lived. "Laodice and Danaë," which shows how Laodice put Danaë to death, is the one southern piece among the five. "The Riding to Lithend," strongest of all, comes virtually whole from the great "Saga of Burnt Njal," being the story of Gunnar Hamundsson's last fight and death in the presence of his glittering wolf-wife Hallgerd and his magnificent mother Rannveig. Nothing could be less sentimental and more satisfactory than Rannveig's line to Hallgerd when through Hallgerd's treachery Gunnar at last has fallen:

A murdered man should have a murdered wife.

Books in Brief

NO one in the least acquainted with contemporary British politics denies that the House of Commons has suffered a marked decline during the last two or three decades. The fact is admitted with sorrow by those who believe in parliamentary government and proclaimed with joy by those who do not. What are the causes of the decline, and what is to be done about it? In "The House of Commons and Monarchy" (London: George Allen & Unwin) Hilaire Belloc undertakes to answer these questions. England as a result of the Reformation became, he tells us, an aristocratic state and remained such until our own times. Its sovereign organ of government was the House of Commons, an assembly which, though containing a representative element, was essentially not represen-

tative but oligarchical. An oligarchy can function only if it is an aristocracy—only, that is to say, if it enjoys the quasi-religious homage of the nation. This it can do only if it plays the part of an aristocracy, and, still more important, if the nation is aristocratic in temper. Neither of these conditions exists in England today. The House of Commons and the governing class, of which it is a part, have ceased to be aristocratic in character and conduct; and the nation, principally as a result of modern industrialism, has ceased to be aristocratic in temper. Under these circumstances, Mr. Belloc is quite sure, the House of Commons cannot be bolstered up; none of the many reforms that have been proposed could restore its lost prestige and power; it is a discredited oligarchy tottering to its fall. What then is to be done? The only alternative to the decay and dissolution of the state is the establishment of monarchy in some form. Mr. Belloc is always entertaining, but his habit of making asseveration do duty for demonstration should make his readers duly dubious about his conclusions. The Englishman with an inveterate prejudice against personal monarchy of the historical sort can take heart from the author's assertion that the president, the governors, and the mayors in the United States are "all monarchs, if ever there were such."

THE scholar who meditates writing a textbook on civics for public school use should consider well the idiosyncrasies of school boards as official censors of ideas. A textbook, in the opinion of our school bureaucrats, should serve as a pipe-line to conduct water from the great reservoir of truth, to irrigate the virgin mind. Now the test of efficiency in a pipe-line is the minimum of friction engendered in the process of conduction from the source to the desired spot. In like manner the test of efficiency in a textbook is a similar reduction of friction—friction being interpreted as the gravel of debatable matter. Unfortunately, in the fields of the political, economic, and social sciences, such a reduction of friction is peculiarly difficult; for where pretty much everything is being acrimoniously debated, the attempt to refine till there remains only the pure, ineluctable truth, is likely to result in sterile platitude, pleasing to the censor but scarcely inspiring to the student. Edgar Dawson's "Organized Self-Government" (Holt) is an attempt to humanize the pipe-line conception by applying principles of self-government to such grammar-school activities as the organization of athletics and the like. It is an attempt to overcome the indifference of the normal boy to platitude by a better pedagogy. The result, however, is singularly colorless. Mr. Dawson almost succeeds in having no views. He has eliminated debatable matter until he can confidently assert that "there are only a few . . . accepted principles of sound political cooperation," the chief of which are the short ballot, civil service reform, the executive budget, and responsible leadership—surely not the British system! He seems to incline to the city-manager plan for municipalities, but the question of a revision of our State governments involves too much danger of friction, and he leaves it with a series of questions. Mr. Dawson's pedagogy is sensible, and there are certainly worse textbooks than this; but if the study of civics is to become anything other than sheer puerility, there must be very much better books. Very likely, however, the bureaucrats would refuse to adopt them.

IT is a little distressing to find that Arnold Bennett persists in hunting gnats with his trusty and formidable elephant gun. His "Things That Have Interested Me" (Doran) is the note-book of a man who has seen much, who has thought considerably, who is satisfyingly familiar with the English language, but who rashly relies on these things to make inconsequential things important. It is perhaps unjust to suspect Mr. Bennett of pot-boiling, but certainly no publisher would have touched the present volume if it had been the work of an obscure young man. Not that it does not contain writing worthy of its author. There are passages written with a crackling, sharp, visual style; there is wit that achieves its

end by the deftest understatement and the most excellent dryness and brevity. But as a whole these hundred and forty odd notes, many of them less than a page long, ranging in subject from Grand Opera to Saccharine and from the Siege of Paris to Orthodoxy, are trivial. It is even likely that they seemed trivial to Mr. Bennett; that, in fact, is probably what is wrong with them.

Drama Curtain

THE impression of high and startling brilliancy which remained in one's mind at the end of the season of 1919-1920 does not quite renew itself this spring. Perhaps that impression was due to the sharp contrast between a mass of abominable and abominably successful trade-goods of the stage and the somber beauty of "Night Lodging," the compactness and veracity of "Jane Clegg," the splendor and eloquence of "Richard III." It is possible that the season now closing did not touch quite such altitudes; it is possible, on the other hand, that its more sober coloring in retrospect is attributable to a reasonable degree of artistic merit in practically every successful play that it brought us. In that fact, at all events, lies its significance for the American theater. Only one melodrama of the conventional type, "The Bat," was steadily popular. A frank recognition of the facts of human nature saved Craven's "The First Year" even as it had saved "Lightnin'" and "The Gold Diggers." "The Green Goddess" is clap-trap, but clap-trap not unadorned by subtlety and adroit characterization. To name the other preeminent successes of the season is to destroy finally the legend of the dullness of our audiences. For these successful pieces are "Heartbreak House," "Samson and Delilah," "The Skin Game," "The Mob," "The Woman of Bronze," "Miss Lulu Bett," "The Emperor Jones," and "Liliom." Neither "Samson and Delilah" nor "The Woman of Bronze" is a good play. But neither one is a crime melodrama nor a sentimental comedy. Each is written in a civilized tradition and was supported by acting of the first order. And every other drama on the list may be said to have some connection with the spirit and the qualities of permanent literature. Of what previous season of our theater could so much have been said?

In casting up the larger accounts of the season, we may begin with the native drama. Susan Glaspell's "Inheritors," despite a diffuse first act, and Emery Pottle's "The Hero," despite a raw catastrophe in the last, must head this list. In these two plays the concrete stuff of American life reached dramatic form and spiritual significance. The two plays of Mr. Eugene O'Neill, "The Emperor Jones" and "Diff'rent," remarkable as they are, suffer from a thinness of moral atmosphere and touches of psychological violence. Their originality lacks the ease of a freely functioning creative energy. It is conscious, wavering, and fantastic. "Miss Lulu Bett" would rank higher were it not, after all, that unhappy thing, a dramatized novel. Magnificent at moments, it is ephemeral as a whole. To add a mention of Evelyn Scott's "Love," "David Liebovitz's "John Hawthorne," and Michael Strange's "Claire de Lune" is to complete the count of American plays that have in their intention, not to speak of their execution, any connection with dramatic literature. Such a connection was once faintly discernible in the work of Rachel Crothers. Her latest play, "Nice People," rules her out pretty definitely. Clare Kummer's "Rollo's Wild Oat" and Rida Johnson Young's "Little Old New York" escape the vulgar but do not reach artistic sincerity. A gleam of Mark Twain's vision, a bit of solid observation in the early acts, an exercise of intelligent irony saved passages in "The Prince and the Pauper," "The Meanest Man in the World," and "The Bad Man." "Wake Up, Jonathan" showed remnants of a sincere criticism of life once in the authors' minds, and "The Tavern" commended itself,

for similar reasons, to many hearers. The rest is silence. But no one will think this a wholly contemptible showing who, season after season, has watched and waited for one symptom of intelligence or inner truth in any native play. It leaves such a one, indeed, with a livelier feeling of hope and exhilaration than the mere display of the season's American pieces seems superficially to justify. The soil is stirring and the plants will rise.

The British contribution was impressive. It included Shaw's "Heartbreak House," Galsworthy's "The Skin Game" and "The Mob"; it included St. John Ervine's "Mixed Marriage," the magnificent revival of "The Beggar's Opera," and inferior but not uninteresting ones of Synge's "The Playboy of the Western World" and Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest." To these it is possible to add Drinkwater's "Mary Stuart," and possibly, though injudicious, to add Barrie's "Mary Rose." Whoever considers the latter a good play must think Granville Barker's "Harlequinade" a brilliantly good one and will find little fault with William Archer's "The Green Goddess." British comedy was represented by A. A. Milne's "Mr. Pim Passes By," Arnold Bennett's "The Great Adventure," and Harold Chapin's "The New Morality."

Compared to the British drama the French does not shine, for the fundamental reason, among others, that it has today far less to offer. Porto-Riche's "Amoureuse" ("The Tyranny of Love") is a great play. But it is thirty years old. Sacha Guitry's romantic and sentimental pictorialism ("Deburau"), Flers and Caillavet's crackling situations ("Transplanting Jean"), Hennequin's hollow posturing ("Toto"), and even Kistemaecker's strong theatricalism ("The Woman of Bronze"), could easily have been spared for truer and serener things. Two German tragedies of authentic beauty, Max Halbe's "Youth" and Karl Schönherr's "Der Weibsteufel" ("Thy Name is Woman") were hopelessly caricatured on our stage, the first by an inept production, the second by a vulgarized adaptation. The production of Paul Frank's feeble and fantastic "The Mandarin" was a clear mistake. Our solid borrowings from Central Europe consist, then, of Franz Molnar's "Liliom" and—to name them as a matter of simple justice—the marvelous German films "The Cabinet of Dr. Galigari" and "Deception." The Scandinavian drama was represented by a few inferior Ibsen productions, Sven Lange's "Samson and Delilah," Sigurjonsson's powerful but rather epic "Eyvind of the Hills," and an interesting dramatization of Karen Michaelis's "The Dangerous Age" under the title "The White Villa." To this list of foreign plays may be added the Yiddish drama "The Treasure" by David Pinski and the Spanish idyl "The Cradle Song."

This dry enumeration speaks for itself. The gaps are obvious. A few Shakespearean productions and Euripides's "Iphigenia in Aulis" alone represent the great classics of dramatic literature. Yet the list has a variety and wealth probably unrivaled in the records of our theater, and only the dustiest pedantry would fail to enrich it by adding such charming musical comedies as "Mary," "Lady Billy," "Sally," "The Passing Show" at the Winter Garden, and Oscar Strauss's "The Last Waltz" (Century Theater) with its disappointing score but superb decorative and vocal execution. Finally, we may join our colleagues in the amusing if futile game of preferences. The finest teatro-technical productions of the season seemed to us, named in the order of merit, the following: "Liliom," "The Beggar's Opera," "Claire de Lune," "The Green Goddess," "Harlequinade," "Joan of Arc," "Deburau"; the finest examples of the art of acting, not named in the order of merit (which seems impossible), were the performances of Mr. Jacob Ben Ami in "Samson and Delilah," Mr. Grant Michell in "The Hero," Mr. Charles Gilpin in "The Emperor Jones," Mr. W. E. Holden in "Miss Lulu Bett," Miss Margaret Wycherly in "Mixed Marriage," Miss Estelle Winwood in "The Tyranny of Love," and Miss Margaret Anglin in "The Woman of Bronze."

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Art

Aesthetic Blind Spots

"I DON'T know anything about art but I do know what I like." The scene, any art shop or gallery; the speaker, everybody at some time. And yet, and yet, unless you do know something about art, can you know what you really like in it? For when you look at a work of art, there is not merely you and the object face to face, vision clear, mind empty and receptive to the impressions. Suggestion comes in to deflect preference; the strong glare of fashion blinds judgment; literary or historical interest, chance association, habit—each distorts the vision, until you cannot be sure how clearly you see the real object, how clearly know your real preference.

You go to see a painting. You are led aside into a secluded room, low lights and soft carpets, a deep divan, quiet, repose. There is a minute's pause for composure and anticipation. Then noiselessly, by unseen hands, the velvet curtains are slipped apart. There, glowing in light from a hidden source, is the picture. You see it long enough to be impressed, not long enough to have the impression dulled. The curtains slip back. A mediocrity has become a masterpiece.

Suggestion is not always, of course, so elaborately or so consciously induced. It may be only the passing opinion of a friend, it may be the unvoiced attitude of those around you, that carries the unconscious hint. But whatever the circumstances, the time, the place, the presentation do condition judgment.

It is most often opinion generalized and formulated into fashion that colors the experience. Gothic architecture was conceded to be barbarous throughout most of the seventeenth century. Not so very many years ago modern painting began with Giotto, and even Giotto's work was regarded merely as an historic link rather than an aesthetic value. In the eighties in this country Japanese prints were referred to condescendingly, yet ten years later the same condescending people found them beautiful. There is as much a vogue in art as there is in dress, and if it does not fluctuate from year to year at least you can see it shift from decade to decade. And with every shift some works of art have their worth revealed, but some real and fine values are clouded over again.

There are, of course, the conscientious, the skeptical, and the determinedly individualistic who refuse to succumb either to suggestion or to fashion. They, too, feel the pressure, only in their case it works by contraries. Yet in their very perversity they are being determined by non-aesthetic influences. Though we are an unsentimental generation, sentiment insists on creeping in, especially in our aesthetic judgments. Too sophisticated after several decades of warning to admit, openly, that the graphic arts have a story-interest, we nevertheless let it slip in by the side door. It makes its entrance usually through the title. Most people are quite uncomfortable in an art gallery without a fully annotated catalogue, and many spend quite as much time looking up names as they do looking at pictures.

The soft sentiment of personal association makes its way into aesthetic judgment more secretly. We let it play around in our emotions avoiding a more explicit recognition. We see quality in a painting of the sea when there is really the faint echo of happy days on a beach, technique in a hillside that looks like home, color and light in the garden that is pervaded with a vague recurrence of our youth.

It is an effort and something of a nuisance to pass judgment on a new problem, but to repeat an opinion already formed creates a satisfying sense of confidence and reinforces our self-esteem. So taste degenerates into habit. And once the habit is well established novelty outrages it. Thus the strange is readily equated with the ugly, while the familiar is taken for granted as the beautiful. You may know what you like without

knowing a thing about art, but what you like is not the art. What you like is certain habits of your own mind, the habit of concurring with the predominant opinion or of combating it, according to your temperament; never, in any such case, is it the real aesthetic significance and value of the painting or the statue or the rug itself.

And for every false aesthetic preference that is founded on some accidental element of choice there is an aesthetic blind spot. The person who is used to reaching what he has supposed to be aesthetic satisfaction by the open, level paths of sentiment and habit will find the breathless ascent to the real aesthetic heights forbidding. The naked beauty that is stripped of association and the conventional forms will reveal no beauty to him.

So the great public, even the cultivated public, comes into a modern art gallery ill equipped to see the values that are there. Baffled, they ask first for a catalogue and then are only baffled more. If it gives no titles it is no help to them. If it gives titles they become absorbed in the problem of identification. For every subject they have seen numerous presentations in the accepted conventional forms and so they approach it with a certain set expectation. But the new art has reinterpreted the themes into new forms. Expectation is thwarted. This is a disagreeable feeling, and the feeling is attributed to the picture which is therefore violently rejected.

In proportion as the visitor is baffled and puzzled he becomes self-conscious, and this increases the difficulty of aesthetic judgment. Instead of absorbing himself in the picture he begins to search anxiously for something in his past experience to serve as basis for an opinion. There are no established categories to come to his support. He feels himself and his self-confidence sinking. It is at this point that the trivial-minded become facetious. Cheap humor is the defense reaction of an uncertain little soul. But the serious and sincere, not having even this reaction to sustain them, become more and more confused and end by attributing to the pictures the discomfort generated by their own unsuccessful introspection.

There is one way to correct the vision that has been distorted by the intrusive influences of fashion, suggestion, romance, and habit, and to clear out the blind spots. Give up trying to find out what you like without knowing about art, and find out what art is. Take any picture you like, and abstracting from the subject, single out the line directions and patterns, the space divisions, the counterplay of thrusts and strains, the interrelations of color, until it appears not as a Madonna or a hillside or a tree but as an organization of aesthetic elements. This will give you an analytic interest which is at first remote from the aesthetic, but it will in time train the vision to grasp and explore the essentials. With vision thus stripped of sentimental associations, with incidental differences of form eliminated, fashion will drop out of sight and art will appear as it is in itself—the energetic equilibrium of vital forms.

PHYLLIS ACKERMAN

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International Relations Section

The China Consortium—I.

THE negotiations leading up to the signing of the China Consortium Agreement on October 15, 1920, were in many respects more significant than the terms of the agreement itself. They have never been published in the United States—nor, indeed, has the text of the agreement—and the presentation in this and the succeeding issue of *The Nation* of the more important notes and memoranda relating to the consortium should throw light upon a subject about which there has been much obscurity. In the present issue appears the correspondence between the American group of bankers, the Department of State, and the British Government. In next week's issue will be printed the correspondence following the inter-group conference at Paris relating principally to Japan's reservations in regard to Mongolia and Manchuria, the text of the consortium agreement, and the notification of China. The documents are taken from a recent White Paper, published by the British Government.

THE AMERICAN BANKERS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 8, 1918.

We have been giving very earnest consideration to the suggestion you made in Washington respecting a loan to China, and wish, in the first place, to assure you of our disposition to be of service in the matter, and to help in finding some way in which the wishes of the Administration can be carried out.

In the course of our discussion the following points have seemed to us to be fundamental:

1. An arrangement of this sort which contemplates transactions spread over a considerable period of time in our opinion should be made on the broadest basis in order to give the best protection to our investors, and, with the right foundation established, confidence would follow and anxiety and jealousy disappear. At the conference held in Washington recently, there was mentioned, as a course perhaps advisable, that Americans and Japanese cooperate in a loan to China. We are disposed to believe that it would be better if such an international cooperation were to be made broader. We suggest, therefore, that this can best be accomplished if a four-Power group be constituted consisting of financial members to be recognized by the respective Governments of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States; our Government to recognize as their member of such group the American banks or firms which may become associated for this purpose, and which we should hope to have representative of the whole country. Although under the present circumstances it would be expected that Japan and the United States should carry England and France, such carrying should not diminish the vitality of their memberships in the four-Power group.

One of the conditions of membership in such a four-Power group should be that there should be a relinquishment by the members of the group either to China or to the group of any options to make loans which they now hold, and all loans to China by any of them should be considered as a four-Power group business. Through cooperation of England, France, Japan, and the United States much can be accomplished for the maintenance of Chinese sovereignty and the preservation of the "open door"; and, furthermore, such cooperation might greatly facilitate the full development of the large revenue sources, from only a very few of which China at present realizes a satisfactory income.

It would seem to be necessary, if now and after the war we are successfully to carry out the responsibilities imposed upon

us by our new international position, that our Government should be prepared in principle to recognize the change in our international relations, both diplomatic and commercial, brought about by the war.

2. We have considerable doubt whether, under the present circumstances, the people of the United States could be induced to buy the debt of any foreign country on any terms. We feel quite certain that no loan could be sold unless the Government would be willing at the time of issue to make it clear to the public that the loan is made at the suggestion of the Government. With such announcement we think it possible that a reasonable amount of Chinese loan could be placed in this country.

If these two fundamental conditions are agreed to by our Government, we hold ourselves at your disposal to go further into the details of any proposed loan, and will cooperate with you most earnestly and sympathetically.

Yours very truly,

J. P. MORGAN & Co.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO THE BANKERS

July 9, 1918.

Your letter of the 8th July, 1918, has had my very careful consideration. It contains several elements of an important nature, which I will take up in order.

This war has brought the countries of Great Britain, France, Japan, the United States, and some others into a state of harmony and helpfulness, and has supplanted an intense spirit of competition by a spirit of mutuality and cooperation in matters relating to their interests abroad. Doubtless this situation is a measure due to the absence of capital seeking foreign investment at the present time because of the demands upon it for war purposes.

If international cooperation is necessary, as seems to be the case, for the successful flotation of the proposed loan, I realize that the support of Great Britain and France would be desirable even if it should be necessary for the United States and Japan to carry for the time being their respective portions of the loan. All four Powers are of course deeply interested in any measures taken to strengthen China and fit her for a more active part in the war against the Central European Powers. Japan is already considering rendering financial assistance, while two of the loans that have been mentioned as desirable are loans by which the interests of British and French citizens would be directly affected, and it would of course be unwise to undertake their negotiations without consulting parties so immediately concerned.

In these circumstances, the formation of a four-Power group, to consist of financial interests of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, to deal with the Government of China for purposes of making loans to that Government seems advisable, and it is my hope that in this way the whole subject of finance in China can ultimately be treated in a broad way. If the terms and conditions of each loan are submitted to and approved by this Government and the other cooperating Governments, and by the Government of China, this Government would not only interpose no objection, but on the contrary

would consider such an arrangement an assurance that the welfare of China and the proper interests of the other Governments were of such a mutual character as to permit of close and friendly intercourse for their common good. I think that I should say frankly that this Government would be opposed to any terms or conditions of a loan which sought to impair the political control of China, or lessened the sovereign rights of that republic.

In response to your inquiry as to whether the Government would be willing at the time of its issue to state that the loan was being made at the suggestion of the Government, I will say that the Government has suggested that this loan be made, and would have no hesitancy in formally stating that fact at the time of issue.

The question of relinquishment by the members of the American group of any options to make loans now existing in favor of any of them seems to be a reasonable condition of membership in that group. Such relinquishment by a member of a foreign group is a matter over which this Government would have no control. However, I may say that if the members of the American group come to the conclusion that they desire it, this Government will use its good offices, in so far as it can properly do so, to bring about such relinquishment.

ROBERT LANSING.

MR. BALFOUR TO AMBASSADOR DAVIS

FOREIGN OFFICE, August 14, 1918.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I have now received from Washington the full text of the confidential letters exchanged between the United States Secretary of State and certain leading American banks relative to the proposal to form a new four-Power group for the purpose of making a loan to China.

His Majesty's Government welcome the decision of the United States Government to encourage the formation of a group of American banks to cooperate with similar British, French, and Japanese groups in affording financial assistance to China, and they are prepared to assent in principle to the proposal to constitute a new four-Power group in the place of the existing international consortium.

There are, however, certain points arising out of the correspondence communicated to His Majesty's Government which in their opinion call for further elucidation in order that they may be in a position to appreciate fully the scope of the American proposals.

In the first place, it would appear that it was decided at the conference held in Washington, prior to the exchange of the letters, that it was desirable that a loan should be made to China by the proposed four-Power group, and Mr. Lansing in signifying his acquiescence in that view, in his letter of the 9th July, indicates that the object of such a loan would be to strengthen China and fit her for a more active part in the war against the Central European Powers.

As your Excellency is aware, the only loan to China which is now under consideration by the existing international consortium is a projected issue of a second or Supplementary Reorganization Loan of £20,000,000 for currency reform purposes, in respect to which the Japanese group have already made two advances to the Chinese Government. It is not clear whether the American group contemplate participating in this loan which is now in course of negotiation with the Chinese Government and carrying the shares of the British and French groups by arrangement with the Japanese group, or whether they have in view an entirely different financial transaction. The correspondence exchanged between the banks and the Secretary of State does not mention the amount of the projected loan, the revenues on which it is to be secured, or the purposes to which it is to be applied.

Again, the scheme proposed by the United States Government and the American banks appears to contemplate not only the prompt issue of a special loan to China by the four-Power group, but also the issue of other loans by that body. His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington was accordingly instructed to in-

quire whether it was the intention of the United States Government to confine the activities of the new four-Power group to making administrative loans to the Chinese Government or whether the new consortium would be empowered also to make loans for industrial and railway enterprises in China. Lord Reading has replied that he is informed by the State Department that, so far as concerns the American group now forming under the agreement between the Department and the bankers, it is the expectation of the Department that industrial loans will be made as well as those for administrative purposes.

I must explain to your Excellency that this question of the scope of the four-Power group's financial activities is a matter of considerable importance in view of the decision taken at the Inter-Group Conference held in Paris on the 26th September, 1913, by the representatives of the British, French, German, Russian, and Japanese groups in the international consortium, when it was resolved and agreed that the provisions of the Sextuple Agreement should no longer apply to industrial and railway loans. The meeting was informed by the chairman that a communication had been received from the American group stating that they agreed to the unconditional elimination of industrial loans from the scope of the Sextuple Agreement. His Majesty's Government were impelled to agree to the modification in this sense of the Sextuple Agreement of 1912 by the desire of the Japanese Government to resume their freedom in respect to industrial loans, and also by pressure from independent banking and other interests outside the British group which made it impossible for them to continue to recognize the British group in the consortium as alone entitled to their official support for the financing of industrial enterprises in China. Your Excellency will understand that in these circumstances it would be difficult for His Majesty's Government, and presumably for the other Governments concerned, to agree to the revival of the Sextuple Agreement of 1912 in so far as it purports to prohibit the independent conclusion of industrial loans, supposing that it is the intention of the United States Government to renew the original six-Power contract in the form of a four-Power contract, and to seek the consent of the participating Governments to the principle of guaranteeing exclusive official support to their respective groups for the negotiation of industrial as well as of administrative loans.

The letters exchanged between the American bankers and the Secretary of State also deal with the question of the relinquishment to China or to the four-Power group as a whole of any options on loans now held by the individual members or groups. I have to observe that, so far as administrative loans to China are concerned, which alone fall within the scope of the existing consortium's activities, there is only one option held by individual members of that body, viz., an option for a currency reform loan held by the British and French groups, and previous to China's declaration of war on the Central Powers, by the German group. The currency reform loan has, with the consent of the British and French groups, been incorporated into the Supplementary Reorganization Loan, and should the American group agree to cooperate with the British, French, and Japanese groups in raising such a loan, it would naturally participate in any advantages which the possession of this option confers on the original holders.

Should it be the intention, however, of the United States Government to invite the other Governments to induce their respective groups to agree to the relinquishment, in favor of the new four-Power group, of options on industrial and railway loans held by those groups or their individual members, I fear that such a proposal would present considerable difficulty, and the question would have to be examined very carefully in consultation with the British interests involved before His Majesty's Government could express any opinion, and still less signify their concurrence in the suggestion.

Finally, I notice that in his confidential answer to the American bankers' letter, Mr. Lansing states that the United States Government would be opposed to any terms or conditions of a

[Continued on page 802]

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The above quotation is from Dr. Frank Crane's article entitled "The Word Treasury," in the N. Y. Globe. It refers to the best book of Synonyms ever published.

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loan which sought to impair the political control of China or lessened the sovereign rights of that republic. His Majesty's Government presume that in making this statement the Secretary of State did not mean to imply that the United States Government would not entertain favorably any loan scheme submitted for their approval by the American group which provided for foreign control of the collection of the revenues earmarked as security for the loan, such as exists in the case of the loans secured on the Chinese maritime customs revenues and on the Salt Gabelle. Similarly, His Majesty's Government conclude that the United States Government would not consider, for example, the appointment under the terms of a currency reform loan of a foreign adviser to supervise the introduction of currency reforms in China as an infringement of that country's sovereign rights. I venture to suggest that the favorable consideration of the American proposal would be facilitated if His Majesty's Government and the other Governments concerned could be reassured as to the precise intentions of the United States Government in this matter.

There is one further point which, although it is not a matter of urgency or likely to impede in any way the realization of the four-Power group project, should, I think, be brought to the notice of the United States Government. Toward the end of last year the British, French, Russian, and Japanese Governments finally agreed to the inclusion of a Belgian group in the existing bankers' consortium in China. It was, however, stipulated that the admission of Belgium into the consortium should only take effect after the war.

A. J. BALFOUR.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE

On October 8, 1918, Mr. Lansing, then Secretary of State, addressed a memorandum to the British Foreign Office through the British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington outlining in further detail the position of the United States in regard to the Consortium.

Memorandum

The Government of the United States is gratified at the cordial reception given, in principle, to the general plan for loans to China as recently presented to the respective interested Governments.

This Government is now happy to reply, in the following sense, to the several requests of those Governments for further information as to certain features of the proposed plan:

1. It is not intended that the American group, recently formed, should rejoin the existing consortium, but that there should be organized a new international group, consisting of representative financial institutions of the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and France.

The plan, as proposed by the Government of the United States, does not contemplate that the former consortium should necessarily be dissolved, but that each of the Governments concerned should arrange for the formation of its own national group, which it is hoped might be made so comprehensive as to include all those parties interested in the former consortium and such others not so associated who are engaged or might engage in loans to China, as well as any others whose participation might be desired.

Nor did the American Government, in making its proposal, have any specific loan in mind, but was endeavoring to lay down some general rule for future activities which might, in a broad way, meet the financial needs and opportunities in China. It was for this reason that no specific reference was made to the amount of the loan or loans to be raised, the revenues to be pledged, or to the precise objects of the proposed loan. It was contemplated that these questions would be determined in respect to each case as it might arise.

With respect to the Second or Supplementary Reorganization Loan for purposes of currency reform, this Government is prepared to state in advance that it would be ready to recommend to the American group that it should not only take a part in

that loan, but be prepared to carry also, in conjunction with the Japanese group, the shares of the British and French groups, not only in this particular loan, should it be included in the business of the new international group, but in such other loans as may develop while circumstances are such as to prevent their more active participation.

2. The reference to "a relinquishment by the members of the group either to China or to the group of any options to make loans which they now hold" applied primarily to the American group alone, and to an agreement between the banks and the United States Government whereby all preferences and options for future loans in China having any governmental guaranty held by the individual members of the American group should be relinquished to the group, which should in turn share them with the international group. Such relinquishment of options was considered by this Government to be a reasonable condition of membership in the American group; and while it is recognized that such interested government must necessarily make its own arrangements with its own national group, it is submitted that it is possible properly to conduct the business of the international group only by similar relinquishment to the respective national groups by the individual banks forming those groups, without distinction as to the nature of the options held.

3. The proposal of the Government of the United States contemplated that industrial as well as administrative loans should be included in the new arrangement, for the reason that, in practice, the line of demarcation between those various classes of loans often is not easy to draw. Both alike are essential fields for legitimate financial enterprise, and both alike should be removed from the sphere of unsound speculation and of destructive composition. The intention of this Government was to suggest, as a means to that end, that the interested Governments should, by common consent, endeavor so to broaden the membership in the newly formed national groups that all financial firms of good standing interested in such loans might be included in the respective groups, and should withhold their support from independent financial operations without previous agreement of the interested Governments.

As regards the Inter-Group Conference held in Paris 26th September, 1913, and the agreement to which the American group adhered, stating that they had no objection to the elimination of industrial loans, it can only be said that the American group prior to that had withdrawn from active participation in the consortium, and was, therefore, not in a position to object; but that it is now felt that with the establishment of a new group, the question may properly be reconsidered.

4. The expression "any terms or conditions of a loan which sought to impair the political control of China or lessen the sovereign rights of that republic" had reference only to the future activities of the American group, and was not intended to call in question the propriety of any specific arrangement in operation between the former consortium and the Chinese Government, or between any other government and the Chinese. It can be definitely stated that the United States Government did not mean to imply that foreign control of the collection of revenues or other specific security pledged by mutual consent would necessarily be objectionable, nor would the appointment under the terms of some specific loan of a foreign adviser—as, for instance, to supervise the introduction of currency reform.

5. With respect to the Russian and Belgian groups and their rights in the former consortium, no present action is contemplated either by way of reservation as to the old or of participation in the new group. As previously stated, it is not anticipated that the existing consortium will necessarily be dissolved, nor, on the other hand, do present conditions warrant the expectation that effective Russian and Belgian national groups could readily be formed at this time.

It is not the intention, however, of this Government to ignore, much less to exclude, any just claim of participation in the new international group, but merely, for practical considerations arising out of the war, to associate the interests of the governments now so closely and actively associated and most able to

[Continued on page 804]

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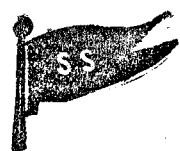
finance the proposed loans to China, and to reserve for further consideration the inclusion of any other groups of friendly Powers which may at a later time be in a position effectively to cooperate.

On March 17, Earl Curzon, on behalf of the Foreign Office, notified the State Department that the British Government had authorized the British banking group "to participate in the operations of the proposed international consortium" and had "guaranteed to it exclusive official support as regards all future public loans to China which involve a Government guaranty and a public issue, whether for industrial, administrative, or financial purposes." Subsequently, however, the phrase "exclusive official support" became the subject of prolonged negotiations between the British Government and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, representing the British group, and the question was finally settled by the adoption by all the governments concerned of the following definition suggested by the Government of the United States:

The governments of each of the four participating groups undertake to give their complete support to their respective national groups, members of the consortium, in all operations undertaken pursuant to the resolutions and agreements of the 11th and 12th May, 1919, respectively, entered into by the bankers at Paris. In the event of competition in the obtaining of any specific loan contract the collective support of the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the four Governments will be assured to the consortium for the purpose of obtaining such contract.

Important Italian documents, including preselection manifestos of the various parties, and proceedings of the Congress of Socialist Communes, will be published in the International Relations Section of an early issue of The Nation.

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